

आफिसर, घर की आमदनी बढ़ी तो  
रहने-सड़ने में भी थोड़ा फर्क आया, टूटी-टाटी  
गह नया सोफा आ धमका :  
शले कोने में फ्रिज और छत पर  
ना भी दिखाई देने लगा । बहुत  
की रंगाई-पुताई भी हो गई ।  
मेट के कैवटस उगे गमले भी  
गे । छोटे दोनों लड़कों की भी  
न को थी । राम सुमेरन सिंह  
सभी जिम्मेदारियों से मुक्त से हो  
सोचते- 'पूरे दिन घर में पड़े-पड़े  
टायरमेंट के बाद ।'

कर लेते । दफ्तर के साथियों से मिलने की इच्छा  
होती, मगर उन्हें लगता जब से वह रिटायर हुए  
हैं दफ्तर के साथियों का काम कुछ ज्यादा ही बढ़  
गया है । जब-जब वे दफ्तर गए दोस्तों ने कुछ  
देर बात की, राजी-खुशी पूछी, फिर वे  
अपने-अपने कामों में उलझ गए ।  
राम सुमेरन सिंह की दोनों बहुएं सास-सुसर  
की तो खातिर करतीं, मगर दोनों में आपस में  
कतई न बनती । किसने सुबह की रोटी बनाई  
थी तो कौन शाम की बनाए । किसने सुबह  
सब्जी काटी थी तो कौन शाम को काटे । फिर  
दोनों देवरों का काम करने में भी उन्हें थोड़ी

# न वाला घर

□ क्षमा शर्मा

पत्नी यह सुनती तो कहती- 'पता ही नहीं  
चला अपनी पूरी की पूरी उम्र कैसे बीत गई ।'  
हंसते राम सुमेरन सिंह—और उम्र से तुम  
क्या चाहती हो ? किस बात की कमी है हमें ।  
लायक चार बेटे हैं । कोई लड़की है नहीं जो  
ब्याह ने को बैठी हो । घर अपना है । प्राविडेंट  
फंड और पेंशन से बची-खुची जिंदगी भी कट  
जाएगी । बुरे दिन तो बीत गए ।

'जो भी हैं अपनी जिंदगी तो अब नहीं  
लोटेगी । बचपन बीत जाता है, जवानी बीत  
जाती है, नहीं बीतता तो बुढ़ापा । वह इनसान  
को साथ ही लेकर जाता है ।'

राम सुमेरन सिंह को हैरानी होती आखिर  
उनकी इतनी खुशामिजाज पत्नी को क्या होता जा

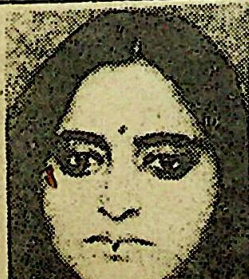
बहुत परेशानी होती । राम सुमेरन सिंह ने पत्नी  
से विचार करके दोनों बहुओं की रसोई अलग  
करवा दी थी । बाहर के आंगन में टीन शीड  
डलवा कर दो रसोइयां बना दी गई थीं । घर की  
रसोई में राम सुमेरन सिंह की पत्नी ने फिर से  
खाना बनाना शुरू किया था ।

समय और बीता, दोनों छोटे बेटों की भी  
नौकरी लगी । उनका भी विवाह हुआ । फिर से  
जगह की समस्या उठ खड़ी हुई । लड़के राम  
सुमेरन सिंह को सलाह देने कि वह प्राविडेंट  
फंड के पैसों से ऊपर दो कमरे बनवा दें ।

पत्नी कहती-कॉई जरूरत नहीं । जब तक दो  
पैसे पास हैं तभी तक क्या बेटा क्या बहू सब  
पूछ रहे हैं ।

बरांडा बड़ा था सो राम सुमेरन सिंह ने उसमें  
लकड़ी का पार्टीशियन करवा दिया । इस बार  
उन्होंने दोनों छोटे लड़कों को पहले दिन से ही  
अलग कर दिया था ।

राम सुमेरन सिंह और पत्नी बैठक में सोते ।  
मगर सुबह-सुबह लड़कों का कोई  
मिलने-जुलने वाला आ जाता तो उन्हें बड़ी  
परेशानी होती । बिस्तर हटाकर उठना पड़ता ।  
जिस भी लड़के के कमरे में जाते उसे ही दिक्कत  
होती । इस दिक्कत को राम सुमेरन सिंह ने ज्यादा



मकान की  
बूढ़े-मां-बा  
कभी छोटा  
पर आंशु  
बदसूरत  
मकान पर  
हजार तो  
अहसास  
को मजबू

राम सु  
कुछ न का  
तसवीरों क  
उभर न पा  
चलते आ  
दिया था ।  
फल का  
बरसात हो  
सकते ।

राम सु  
को—उस  
की तरह  
गया तो

जिस  
गालियां  
याद आ

कम  
तो नहीं  
गुजर  
जिंदगी  
सिंह  
है य  
ले  
में बुढ़  
पौते-पो  
सीख





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जितनी कि दुनिया का आकर्षण अंत तक पीछा नहीं छोड़ता  
भी मंज़िला उस दुनिया से हमेशा... हमेशा के लिए चले  
की दृष्टि जाना ।

राम सुमेरन सिंह पत्नी को यह सब बताते तो वह महीनों के लिए उदास हो उठती। उसका मन बहलाने के लिए रिटायरमेंट के इन तीन वर्षों में राम सुमेरन सिंह ने पूरा हिंदुस्तान घुमा दिया था उसे। हालांकि बड़ी बहू ने एक बार दबी जबान से कह ही दिया था कि इस तरह तो उनका पी.एफ. ग्रेच्युटी दो दिन में खत्म हो जाएगा, तब ? इस तब का अर्थ राम सुमेरन सिंह अच्छी तरह जानते थे। पैसा खत्म हो गया तो कहीं उनका और पत्नी का बोझा बेटों पर न आ पड़े। वह कहना चाहते थे—बहू, तुम्हें चिंता करने की कोई जरूरत नहीं। मगर चुप लगा गए। जवानी में जिन बातों के जिक्र भर से नधुने फड़कने लगते हैं, बुढ़ापे में वे ही बातें सुनकर भी अलमसी का डेरी पानी है।

आ शिरीष  
के बड़े  
कर दिया  
ह दिन रात  
बेड़ें बेड़ें हा

होगा कौन जानता था... मगर राम  
मकान ज्यों का त्यों खड़ा था... मगर राम  
से उकताहट सुमेरन सिंह पत्नी के साथ इस दुनिया से जा  
अब उस सुमेरन सिंह पत्नी के साथ इस दुनिया से जा  
राम सुमेरन सिंह पत्नी के साथ इस दुनिया से जा  
को दोहरा सुमेरन सिंह पत्नी के साथ इस दुनिया से जा  
न सिंह सुमेरन सिंह पत्नी के साथ इस दुनिया से जा  
वोहर सुमेरन सिंह पत्नी के साथ इस दुनिया से जा  
मकान सुमेरन सिंह पत्नी के साथ इस दुनिया से जा  
मकान सुमेरन सिंह पत्नी के साथ इस दुनिया से जा  
मकान सुमेरन सिंह पत्नी के साथ इस दुनिया से जा

है। एक शाम गिरजा के पीछे की सीढ़ी  
उड़ी तो वहाँ से कछा था—'तुम ऐसे बर्त  
कूतिए कर रही हो कि जितनी पर काम  
करों, एक गए हो। अपने दोनो बेटे  
से लो। जल्दी ही उनका आह हो  
जाए मिले।'



# Tilak's Speeches.

"In spite of verdict I maintain that there are higher powers ruling the destinies of men of nations. If it be the will of Providence that the cause I represent shall profit more by my suffering than by my presence here, I am ready." *B. G. Tilak.*

श्रीलिंगायतसंघ संस्थापक

३. १ (१-३३)

R. R. SRIVASTAVA.







**SPEECHES**  
**OF**  
**Bal Gangadhar Tilak**

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**PART I**

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*EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY*

**R. R. SRIVASTAVA**

**MAY BE HAD OF :**  
**THE NATIONAL BOOK DEPOT**  
**FYZABAD**





## Publisher's Note.

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The enthusiasm with which the collections of the speeches of Indian Patriots have been received encouraged me to bring out this collection of the speeches of Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak. The place occupied by Mr. Tilak amongst the Indian patriots is very high and much of the awakening which is visible in India to-day is due to his self-sacrifice and patriotism. This attempt is the first of its kind so far as the publisher is aware and although the volume does not contain all the speeches delivered by Mr. Tilak, yet it contains some of his best utterances ever made. It is further intended to bring out in February, 1918, the second part which will contain the rest of his speeches.

My cordial thanks are due to B. Narindra Deo Varma M. A., L.L. B. Vakil without whose help I could not have collected the speeches contained in this volume.

I am painfully conscious of the typographical errors which have successfully avoided the corrector's vigilant eye. But the book had to be brought out within what was in effect a 'time-limit;' and the reader would, it is hoped, forgive those errors in consideration of the high pressure under which the whole work had to be done.

FYZABAD ;

*The 17th December 1917.*

R. R. S.

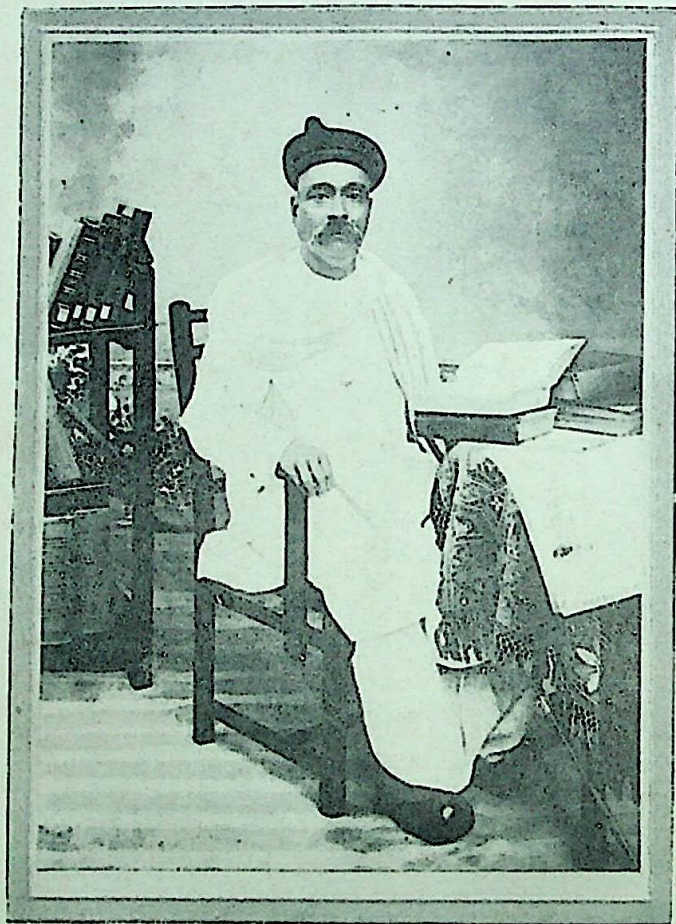




Hardarhan Singh

इ. सं. २०८  
इ. सं. १८





**LOKMANYA BAL GANGADHAR TILAK.**

## CALL OF MOTHERLAND.

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**T**he national work which faces us to-day is so great, extensive and urgent that you all must work together with zeal and courage greater than I may have been able to show. It is a task which is not one that can be put off. Our Motherland calls every one of us to be up and doing. And I do not think that Her sons will disregard this call. However, I feel it my duty to beg of you to respond to this call of our Motherland and banishing all differences from your minds strive to become the embodiments of national ideals. Here there is no room for rivalry, jealousy, or fear. God will help us in the fruition of our efforts, and if not by us, it is certain that the point will be gathered by the next generation.

*Mr. Tilak in his reply to the congratulatory address presented to him on his 61st birthday (23rd July 1916).*





# SPEECHES OF LOKMANYA B. G. TILAK.

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## *National Congress 1889 Bombay.*

I beg to propose as an amendment that instead of asking the different electoral bodies to elect members to the Imperial Legislature, the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council should constitute the body to elect members to the Imperial Council. As I have moved this amendment more from a sense of duty to my province than from any confidence in my own oratorical powers I shall not trouble you with any platitudes about this National Congress. What I have to do is to place before you the reasons that induce us to come forward with this amendment, although we know there is very little chance of its being accepted by other provinces. You have been told that Bombay is opposed to the general scheme of the Legislative Council proposed by other provinces; and the position that we took has been represented to you in a rather misleading light. What I suggest is this, that we from Bombay have been opposed to the Madras Scheme, not on the ground that it is not based upon Local Boards and Municipalities. The opposition was not between Local Boards and Municipalities on the one hand and electoral bodies on the other, but whether we should have one electoral body or more



than one, and I am glad to say to the Bombay delegates that this point, to which there was no real opposition, has been conceded. The next question is, having more than one electoral body, in some presidencies at any rate, will it be convenient to authorize each of these electoral bodies to send their own members to the Imperial Legislative Council, or will it be more convenient to invest elected members of the Provincial Council with that authority? Now having, as I hope, shown that the Supreme Legislative Council must have on it representatives from the different presidencies, and not from districts or divisions, I think it will be more in accordance with this principle to allow representations to each presidency than to a sub-division of each. It is not each division that has to elect a representative to the Imperial Council, but it is each presidency that has to do it; and if that is so, I place it before you whether, having several centres, each electoral body is to be allowed a representation in the Imperial Legislative Council. Then there is another objection which I would call objection No. 2. If you look to logical sequence you will find that the amendment I propose comes in its proper order. I will explain a little. You have adopted indirect representation; that is, the members of the Council are not to be directly sent by the voters but through the medium of electoral bodies. So then, having adopted the principle of indirect representation for the election of the Provincial Council, the natural sequence is that the Provincial Council should elect the Imperial Council. It follows

in the same order. Then there is a third objection. You have been told that Municipalities and Local Boards are not allowed representation direct because Municipalities and Local Boards have not the best of your men. No such objection can be urged against our system of double election. You have the best men in your Provincial Councils, and if you entrust the best men thus selected with the task of selecting men to the Imperial Council I am sure you will not be placing the power in the wrong hands. The last objection I have to urge to the proposed system is that it is cumbrous every time to ask an electoral division to send members to the Provincial Council and also to the Imperial Council. It would be too cumbrous to be carried into practice. The time is short, and I can only summarize what I have to say. If you will consider the logical sequence of the proposal, and the local circumstances of the several presidencies, especially that of Bombay, where there will be several electoral bodies—if you will consider that it is the Provincial interest that you have to represent, and not the divisional interest, in the Imperial Council, you will find that the amendment is at least more in conformity with the view you have already adopted than is the resolution as it now stands. With these few words I propose the amendment which will run thus :

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*Evidence before the Decentralisation Commission,  
dated 9th March 1908.*

The question of centralisation or decentralisation of the powers of the administrative machinery involves the considerations of uniformity, smoothness and regularity of work, general efficiency, economy of time, work and money, popularity &c ; and speaking broadly these may be classed under three different heads : (1) Efficiency, (2) Economy. and (3) Popularity.

As regards the first, I do not think it is seriously contended that the efficiency of administration has suffered merely owing to over-centralisation. On the contrary it is urged that it is worthwhile making the administration a great deal more popular even if it would become a trifle less efficient by decentralisation. But the cry for decentralisation has its origin in the desire of the local officers to have a freer hand in the administration of the areas committed to their care. They believe that their life has been made rather mechanical or soulless by over-centralisation ; and having naturally attributed to the same cause the growing estrangement between themselves and the people they have proposed decentralisation as an official remedy to remove this admitted evil. I do not think the people, looking from their own standpoint, can accept this view. The general public is indifferent whether efficiency and economy are secured by more or less official decentralisation. It is entirely a matter between higher and lower officials, between the

secretariate and the local officers, or between the Supreme and the Local Governments. The people still believe that centralisation secures greater uniformity and regularity, and reduces the chances of the conscious or unconscious abuse of power resulting from unappealable authority being vested in lower officers, and would rather oppose decentralisation in this respect. The only complaints, so far as I know, against the existing centralisation or decentralisation hitherto raised by the people are (1) The combination of the Executive and the Judicial functions in the same officers, (2) Financial centralisation in the Government of India as evidenced by the Provincial Contract System, (3) Partition of Bengal and (4) Excessive growth of departmentalism encroaching upon popular rights. But these, excepting the second, do not form the subject of the official grievance against over-centralisation.

My knowledge of the internal working of the different departments of administration is too limited to make definite proposals regarding the redistribution of power and authority between various officials so as thereby to make the administration more economical than at present. I shall, therefore, confine my remarks mostly to the popular aspect of the question and to the four complaints noted above.

It is idle to expect that the adoption of the loose and irregular system of earlier days would remove the present estrangement between officers and people. It is



true that in earlier days the relations between officers and people were more cordial ; but this was not due to the looseness of the system then in vogue. In days when the system of British administration had yet to be evolved and settled, the help of the leaders of the people was anxiously sought by officers as indispensable for smooth and efficient administration of a new province. The officers then moved amongst the people and were in touch with them, not as a matter of mere goodness or sympathy but a matter of necessity, as they themselves had yet many things to learn from these leaders ; and this much satisfied the people at that time, as new aspirations were not as yet created. That state of things has ceased to exist. The creation and gradual development of the various departments, the framing of rules and regulations for the smooth working thereof, the settlement of all old disputes, the completion of the revenue survey, the disarmament of the people, the gradual waning of the influence of the old aristocracy including the higher class of watandars, the compilation of the works of ready reference on all matters embodying the experience of many years for the guidance of the officers, and other causes of the same kind, joined with the facilities for communication with the head-quarters of Government, have all tended to make the local officers more and more independent of the people and so lose touch with the latter. Over-centralisation may, at best, be one of such causes ; but if so, it is to my mind very insignificant. No amount of decentralisation by itself can

therefore restore that cordiality between the officers and the people which existed in the earlier days of the British rule as a necessity of those times ; and though the present officers may by nature be as sympathetic as their predecessors, it is not possible to expect from them the same respect for growing popular opinion as was exhibited by their predecessors in older days. Under these circumstances such further decentralisation as would tend to vest greater powers in the lower officials will only make the system unpopular by encouraging local despotism which the people have justly learnt to look upon with disfavour. The only way to restore good relations between the officers and the people at present is, therefore, to create *by law* the necessity of consulting the people or their leaders, whom the old officials consulted, or whose advice they practically followed, as a matter of policy in earlier unsettled times. This means transfer of authority and power not between officials themselves, but from officials to the people, and that too in an ungrudging spirit. The leaders of the people must feel that matters concerning public welfare are decided by officials in consultation with them. The officers did it in earlier days as a matter of necessity, and the necessity which was the result of circumstances in those days, must, if we want the same relations to continue, be now created by laws granting the rights of self-government to the people, and thus giving to their opinion and wishes a duly recognised place in the affairs of the State. I do not mean to say that this could be done at once or at



one stroke. We must begin with the village system the autonomy of which has been destroyed by the growth of departmentalism under the present rule. The village must be made a unit of self-government, and village communities or councils invested with definite powers to deal with all or most of the village questions concerning Educations, Justice, Forest, Abkari, Famine Relief, Police, Medical Relief and Sanitation. These units, of self-government should be under the supervision and superintendence of Taluka and District Boards which should be made thoroughly representative and independent. This implies a certain amount of definite popular control even over Provincial finance; and the Provincial Contract System will have to be revised not merely to give to the Provincial Government a greater stability and control over its finances, but by further decentralisation to secure for the popular representative bodies adequate assignments of revenue for the aforesaid purposes. This will also necessitate a corresponding devolution of independent legal powers on the popular bodies whether the same be secured by a reform of the Legislative Council or otherwise. Mere Advisory Councils will not satisfy the aspirations of the people, nor will they remove the real cause of estrangement between the officers and the people. The remedy proposed by me, I know, is open to the objection that it means a surrender of power and authority enjoyed by the bureaucracy at present, and that the efficiency of the administration might suffer thereby. I hold a different view. I think

it should be the aim of the British Administration to educate the people in the management of their own affairs, even at the cost of some efficiency and without entertaining any misgivings regarding the ultimate growth and result of such a policy. It is unnecessary to give any detailed scheme regarding the organisation of Village, Taluka or District Councils proposed above, for if the policy be approved and accepted there will be no difficulty in framing a scheme or making alterations therein to meet difficulties and objections as they occur in practice. As regards other complaints referred to above against the present centralisation or decentralisation of powers amongst officials, I think it is high time that the combination of Judicial and Executive functions in the same officers should be discontinued. In Judicial functions I include those judicial powers that are granted to revenue officers in the matter of land revenue, pensions, Inams and Saramjams, except such as are necessary for the collection of revenue. There is no reason why these powers should be retained by executive officers if they are to be divested of jurisdiction in criminal matters. It is needless to say that this reform pre-supposes complete independence of judicial officers. Unnecessary growth of departmentalism is well illustrated by the latest instance of the partition of the Khandesh District. The partition of Bengal is the worst instance of the kind. These are objectionable even from an economical point of view, and in the case of the partition of Bengal the policy has deeply wounded the feelings of the people. The revenues of the country



are not inelastic ; but the margin, soon as it is reached, is swallowed up by the growth of departments at the sacrifice of other reforms conducive to the welfare of the people. In this connection I may here state that I advocate a re-arrangement of Provinces on considerations of linguistic and ethnological affinities and a federation thereof under a central authority. To conclude : the mere shifting of the centre of power and authority from one official to another is not in my opinion, calculated to restore the feelings of cordiality between officers and people, prevailing in earlier days. English education has created new aspirations and ideals amongst the people ; and so long as these national aspirations remain unsatisfied, it is useless to expect that the hiatus between the officers and the people could be removed by any scheme of official decentralisation, whatever its other effects may be. It is no remedy,—not even palliative,—against, the evil complained of, nor was it ever put forward by the people or their leaders the fluctuating wave of decentralisation may infuse more or less life in the individual members of the bureaucracy, but it cannot remove the growing estrangement between the rulers and the ruled unless and until the people are allowed more and more effective voice in the management of their own affairs in an ever expansive spirit of wise liberalism and wide sympathy aiming at raising India to the level of the governing country.

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*Abstract from the Speech of Lokmanya B. G. Tilak  
delivered at Calcutta on Shivaji ground.*

“ Human nature is so constituted that we cannot do without festivals. It is the nature of man to love festivals. We must have festivals. If you want to keep up your spirit you should assemble once a year at least and you should concentrate your intellectual and spiritual force for a particular idea. The *utsavs* were originated and celebrated simply to keep the memories of days gone by. Unfortunately we had no political festival to keep up the memory of our heroes except the National Congress. This is the reason why the Shivaji festival was started in Maharashtra with the hope that it will spread all over India without distinction of caste and creed. There is no reason to object to the festival because Shivaji was a Marhatta, because the life of Shivaji was not up to the standard of the twentieth century. These are minor points. If Shivaji was a Marhatta—it was because he was born at Poona. If you look at the ethnology you will find Shivaji belonged to the same stock of the Rajputana. You may call him a Rajput if you like, and you may call him a Bangali if you like (loud cheers). And therefore you should continue the celebration from year to year. It is such an inspiring festival that in these days we cannot afford to do without it. The central idea is that you must take the spirit from the life of Shivaji. There had been various objections started not here but in my own province. Some



objected to it because they were Mahomedans. That objection no longer exists. Shivaji did not fight against the Mahomedans but against the tyrannical power that existed at that time. There are instances in his career. A Lieutenant of Shivaji had defeated a Mahomedan Chief and his family was captured and was taken to Shivaji. Shivaji at once sent the lady to the private chamber and asked his Lieutenant to send her back to her husband. That is the spirit in which you must read the life of Shivaji and if you read the life of Shivaji in the proper spirit I can assure you that you are sure to derive an inspiration, a sentiment in life which will serve you in these days which you cannot draw from the history of any other country. Shivaji was essentially a man and that is the reason why we should celebrate his life. The Goddess Kali is the presiding deity in Bengal. The same Goddess was the protectress of Shivaji. I am told that some persons objected to the worship of Kali here to-day. I see no reason in fact, no logical reason why such objections should be raised. We are all Hindus and idolators and I am not ashamed of the fact. And I must declare from here my conviction. We cannot conceive of Shivaji without Bhavani. His whole life was, as it were, engulfed and inseparable from Bhavani. And we cannot read of Shivaji without Bhavani. There was a grand festival at Raigarh a month and a half ago at the temple of Shivaji. There we took the palanquin with the portrait of Shivaji. And these temples in various places of the Deccan were aided and kept up by

the British Government. Gentlemen, I do not mean to say that Mahomedans should come to worship the Goddess but surely they should take part in the festival just as we take part in the Mahomedan festival of Moharram in Poona. Abstaining from the worship is no reason why we should not take part in the festival itself. It is to give a corporal shape to our political ideas that we Hindus should have festivals like these. History tells us that in the worst days of Mahomedan rulers Mahomedans worshipped Shivaji with the same enthusiasm as the Hindus."

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*"Is Shivaji not a National Hero"*

*Extract from an article of Mahratta  
dated 24th June 1906.*

Hero-worship is a feeling deeply implanted in human nature ; and our political aspirations need all the strength which the worship of a Swadeshi hero is likely to inspire into our minds. For this purpose Shivaji is the only hero to be found in the Indian history. He was born at a time when the whole nation required relief from misrule ; and by his self-sacrifice and courage he proved to the world that India was not a country forsaken by Providence. It is true that the Maho-



medans and the Hindus were then divided ; and Shivaji who respected the religious scruples of the Mahomedans, had to fight against the Mogul rule that had become unbearable to the people. But it does not follow from this that, now that the Mahomedans and the Hindus are equally shorn of the power they once possessed and are governed by the same laws and rules, they should not agree to accept as a hero one who in his own days took a bold stand against the tyranny of his time. It is not preached nor is it to be at all expected that the methods adopted by Shivaji should be adopted by the present generation. The charge brought by the Anglo-Indian writers in this connection is a fiction of their own brain and is put forward simply to frighten away the timid amongst us. No one ever dreams that every incident in Shivaji's life is to be copied by any one at present. It is the *spirit* which actuated Shivaji in his doings that is held forth as the proper ideal to be kept constantly in view by the rising generation. No amount of misrepresentation can succeed in shutting out this view of the question from our vision ; and we hope and trust that our Mahomedan friends will not be misled by such wily methods. We do not think that the Anglo-Indian writers will object to England worshipping Nelson or France worshipping the great Napoleon on the ground that such national festivals would alienate the sympathies of either nation from the other, or would make the existence of amicable relations between the two nations an impossibility in future. And yet the

same advice is administered to us in a patronising tone by these Anglo-Indian critics, being unmindful of the fact that we have now become sufficiently acquainted with their tactics to take their word for gospel truth. The Shivaji festival is not celebrated to alienate or even to irritate the Mahomedans. Times are changed, and, as observed above, the Mahomedans and the Hindus stand in the same boat or on the same platform so far as the political condition of the people is concerned. Can we not both of us derive some inspiration from the life of Shivaji under these circumstances? That is the real question at issue ; and if this can be answered in the affirmative it matters little that Shivaji was born in Maharashtra. This aspect of the question has been clearly perceived and explained by the leading Indian papers in Bengal such as the *Patrika* and the *Bangalee* ; and there is little chance of the serpentine wisdom of the Anglo-Indian writers being blindly accepted by the parties for whom it is meant. We are not against a festival being started in honour of Akbar or any other hero from old Indian history. Such festivals will have their own worth ; but that of Shivaji has a peculiar value of its own for the whole country, and it is the duty of every one to see that this characteristic of the festival is not ignored or misrepresented. Every hero, be he Indian or European, acts according to the spirit of his times ; and we must therefore judge of his individual acts by the standard prevalent in his time. If this principle be accepted we can find nothing in Shivaji's



life to which one can take exception. But as stated above we need not go so far. What makes Shivaji a national hero for the present is the spirit which actuated him throughout and not his deeds as such. His life clearly shows that Indian races do not so soon lose the vitality which gives them able leaders at critical times. That is the lesson which the Mahomedans and the Hindus have to learn from the history of the great Mahratta Chief; and the Shivaji festival is intended to emphasise the same lesson. It is a sheer misrepresentation to suppose that the worship of Shivaji includes invocations to fight either with the Mahomedans or with the Government. It was only in conformity with the political circumstances of the country at the time that Shivaji was born in Maharashtra. But a future leader may be born anywhere in India and who knows, may even be a Mahomedan. That is the right view of the question, and we do not think that the Anglo-Indian writers can succeed in diverting our attention from it."

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*Abstract from the Speech delivered on the Resolution  
regarding deputation to be sent to England in  
Congress held in 1904.*

" I think this is one of the most important resolutions on our programme to-day, and for this reason, you know very recently the function of the Congress has been to focus the rays of public opinion annually. We accept that definition; but I do not think that by merely accepting the definition we would do our duty in that behalf ( Hear, hear ) in behalf of focussing the public opinion. That phrase of focussing public opinion is taken, so far as I know, from the science of Heat and Light and in the domain of science, we do not focus the rays of heat and light to burn our own hands (Hear, hear ). We focus them for a purpose, and we have to see what that purpose is in the present case. We focus the rays of public opinion in India annually and go away; that has been the charge against us. I say that we focus the rays of public opinion for a purpose and not merely to bottle them up (hear, hear and laughter ), and that purpose is to direct this focus of rays to illuminate the hearts of the bureaucracy that rule in India, to throw a flood of search-light in their hearts and to make patent to the world the bodies that lurk there (Hear, hear ).....As Sir William Wedderburn said in the Subjects' Committee, yesterday, we prepare our brief here, but that brief has to be carried over to England. It is there that the judges sit (cheers ), and



our advocates must plead our case before the English judges and not before the judges in India (hear, hear) The Government of India is impervious to our cries. It can only be pierced from within (Laughter) and we must try to have sometime or other control over and influence with the machinery which will succeed in piercing through the Government of India and making an opening in it on our side (laughter). That is the work that we have before us. We have tried the experiment that is suggested in this resolution twice before, and this is the third time that we are sending our delegates to England, (hear, hear), and I trust that this experiment will result in the establishment of a permanent political Mission in England (cheers). That is what our object ought to be. I know that our distinguished leaders whom I need not mention, will go to England on this occasion, (hear, hear) even for a month or two, but then their expedition must be followed by another force (laughter).....Indian Empire is a dead body and a foreign body; if that foreign body is not assimilated with the British Empire, we shall have to perform a surgical operation and take out that foreign body from the living Empire (hear, hear and laughter). I hope such a time will not come. We want that body to be assimilated into a political body of the British Empire. We should have the same rights and the same privileges as the other members of the British Empire have (hear, hear). India should not be allow-

ed to remain a dead-weight and a foreign body; it would trouble the body-politic if it is not assimilated with the system."—*Congress Report.*

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*Funeral Procession of Mr. Gokhale, dated  
20th February 1915.*

This is not a time for cheers. This is a time for shedding tears. This is a time for expressing sorrow for the irreparable loss which we have sustained by the death of Mr. Gokhale. This diamond of India, this Jewel of Maharashtra, this prince of workers, is taking eternal rest on the funeral grounds. Look at him and try to emulate him. Mr. Gokhale has passed away from our midst, after having satisfactorily performed his duty. Will anyone of you come forward to take his place?



Like a triumphant hero he is passing away, after having made his name immortal. Not only none of you here assembled, but no other citizen in all India, will be able to give a satisfactory account in the other world of having done his duty to the motherland. Up to this time very few have had the fortune of being able to render an account before God of having honestly done his true duty. I know Mr. Gokhale from his youth. He was an ordinary and simple man in the beginning. He was not an inamdar; he was not a jahagirdar; he was not a chief. He was an ordinary man like all of us here. He rose to such eminence by the sheer force of genius ability and work. Mr. Gokhale is passing away from our midst, but he has left behind him much to emulate. Every one of you ought to try to place his example before your eyes; and to fill up the gap; and if you will try your best to emulate him in this way, he will feel glad, even in the next world.

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## HOME RULE.

*Speech delivered on 7th October 1917 in the compound of the Home Rule League, Allahabad under the Presidency of Mrs. Annie Besant.*

"Every one knew what home rule meant. Home rule was the nothing but to have the management of their home in their own hands. That was simplest definition that could be given of the word. There was absolutely nothing to say why they wanted home rule. It was their birthright. Some people had been managing their affairs for them now, and they wanted that that management should be transferred to their hands. They were entitled to that right and the burden of proving that they were not entitled to it lay on the other party. Home rule was not a new expression. It was an expression that had a definite meaning and it could not be misunderstood, though it was to the interest of some people to misunderstand it. All that they asked for was not a change in their rulers but administrators—he distinguished rulers from administrators. The theory inflicted on them was that the rulers of this country were the administrators who had been appointed or selected under the Government of India Act. His view was entirely different. Those were not the rulers in the strict sense of the word. They represented the King but they were not the King. The Indians also represented the King because they were his subjects just as much as those officers. So in the matter of representing the



King the Indians and those officials stood on equal basis. What then was there more in the position of these officers which made them say that they were the real rulers? That was that certain powers had been given to them—they had not usurped those powers—under a Statute of Parliament. If another Statute of Parliament repealing that statute and giving the Indians those powers was passed the Indians would be what those officers were at present. That was home rule and nothing more. There would be no change in the Emperor, absolutely no change in the relations of India with England or in the relations of India with the Empire as a whole. What was there to complain of in this except that some men would lose their trade? If the power was transferred from one man to another the man to whom it was transferred would gain and the other would lose and if that other man would be angry it was natural. He did not think that any English politician would be deterred by such things for a moment from doing his duties.

Ten or fifteen years ago to talk of home rule was sedition and people were afraid, he himself was afraid, of talking about home rule. But now it was conceded both by the judiciary and the executive that home rule was a proper ambition for a dependency to entertain. Ten years of fighting was thus required to remove this prejudice against home rule, and now they could talk about it as a legitimate aspiration.

The Viceroy, the Premier, the British nation and even the bureaucracy now agreed with them. Now what remained ? They said that it was a very good ambition for a dependency ; but there was time for it. They said that it would take centuries to attain it, and instances were cited of a number of colonies which attained self-government in 50 or 60 years. His reply to it was this. The colonies, it was true, had attained self-government in 50 or 60 years but Indians were being ruled for 100 years, and they had not yet attained self-government. There must be a time limit fixed by the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy said that it was not in sight at present. He would say that this was an entirely selfish argument. What was it that prevented them from attaining the goal within a few years after the war when the empire would be reconstructed ? At present India was nothing but a stone in the neck of the empire. They knew on what principle the bureaucracy governed India for the last 100 years. They were a self-governing nation before. They knew how to organise an army, they knew how to dispense justice, they had laws regulations etc. All those had been swept away and now the bureaucracy said that they knew nothing about them. Who was responsible for that ? Not the Indians. When they come here their first care was—he gave credit to them for it—to reduce the disorders prevailing then. How was it done ? Firstly by disarming them. Next all the principal posts in the administration were monopolized by them. Next there was a check to scientific progress,



and industries gradually disappeared. But, they said, they restored peace. That was true but peace was not everything. It was an introductory condition to further development. They had restored peace, they had given railways, telegraphs and other things. All credit to the bureaucracy for these things, but he could not give credit to them for doing anything which would develop their national instinct. They had not done anything which would enable them to stand on their legs. The result was when in the name of the empire they were asked to take up arms and fight the enemy they found that so few men volunteered. What was it that made them incapable of assisting the Empire to the extent that they wished to do? It was the system of administration followed by the bureaucracy. They had governed them in such a way that unless radical improvement was made in the system of administration the Empire would gain no material strength from this country. It was this thought that had actuated the best English statesmen to come forward and say that the system of administration in India must be revised after the war.

From the time of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji up to now they had been crying that they had been deprived of the powers of administration and they should be restored to them. Now the British democracy had clearly seen that there was much force in their cry of reform and they were willing to hear their cry. Now the question was whether the bureaucracy should have a say or whether the Indians

should have a say. There was a judge and he had given notice that he was coming here and would hear what the Indians would have to say. Therefore they must press their demand more strongly than their opponents. That was their duty at present. They had to convince him that all arguments used against them were due to prejudice. The great work before them at present was to educate the people to realize what Home Rule was. He would impress on them the supreme necessity of doing their best for getting home rule. They must wake up. If they made strenuous efforts then within a year or two they would realize if not all at least a part of their wishes. They did not want home rule at once ; but they wanted a real beginning, and not a shadowy beginning. When Mr. Montagu came here he would speak to their leaders about their demand and he wanted that they should have the solid support of the country behind them. If that was done Mr. Montagu would carry their message to the British people and effectively support it with the authority of his office.

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## HOME RULE.

*Speech delivered on 8th October 1917, in the compound of Home Rule League, Allahabad under the Presidency of the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.*

One objection raised against Home rule was that if Home Rule was granted to them they would turn out British people from India. Indians did want English people, English institutions, English liberty and the Empire. But what they said was that the internal administration of India should be under Indian control. English people had it in England, they had it in the colonies and they had it everywhere and would claim it everywhere, and if it was not granted to them they would fight for it, and yet some denied to Indians that right. By whom was this bogey of expelling the English from India raised and for what purpose? That must be clearly understood. It was perhaps understood in this country but it was their business to see that the British people understood it in the right way. Those that held power in their hands at present imagined that Indians were not capable of governing themselves to the limited extent implied by the word Home Rule. They did not tell Indians when they would be able to govern themselves. They did not fix any time-limit. Once it used to be said that Asiatic nations were not fit for self-government. That however was not said now. They now said that India was not now fit for

self-government. If Indians asked them why, they were told that they had not that thing before, they were deficient in education, there were numerous castes quarrelling among themselves, and only British administrators could hold even balance between rival sections. As regards unfitness he had said something about it the previous day. But it required to be expanded. What was unfitness? Did they mean to say that before the British came here there was no peaceful rule anywhere in India? What was Akbar? Was he a bad ruler? No Englishman could say that. Let them go back to Hindu rule. There were the empires of Asoka, Guptas, Rajputs, etc. No history could say that all these empires had managed their states without any system of administration. There were empires in India as big as the German empire and the Italian empire and they were governed peacefully. When peace reigned in the country under the Hindu, Buddhist and Mahomedan rules, what ground was there to say that the descendants of those people who had governed those empires were to-day unfit to exercise that right? There was no disqualification, intellectual or physical which disabled them from taking part in the Government of any empire. They had shown their fitness in the past and were prepared to show it to-day if opportunities were granted to them. The charge of unfitness came only from those who held the monopoly of power in their hands. In every case of monopoly that argument was used. The East India Company used that argument. None of



them present there whose ancestors had founded and administered empires would subscribe to the doctrine that Indians, whether Hindus or Moslems were incapable of governing themselves. The charge of incapacity was only brought forward by interested people, simply because their self-interest demanded that some argument must be advanced in their support. They were not given higher posts to show their capacity. They were only given subordinate posts. Without the aid of Indians in the subordinate departments it was impossible for the British people to carry on the administration ; and so they were given all the subordinate posts. They had been fighting ever since the establishment of the Congress to break this monopoly and not without success. A few posts reserved for the civil service had been granted to them. A few appointments in the judicial department—High Court judgeships, etc.,—had been granted to them. What was the result ? He had not seen any resolution of the Government saying that when any post of responsibility was given to Indians they had misused those opportunities, that they had failed to come up to the standard of efficiency required. On the contrary resolutions had been issued saying that Indians who had acted as members of executive councils had done their duty very well. If they went to the Indian states they would find that all higher posts were held by Indians. What did the British administration reports say about these states ? They said that they were well administered. So the whole evidence that was

possible for them to produce was in their favour. After barring them from these higher services and saying that they were not capable of governing was adding insult to injury. This kind of jugglery would not do. The British democracy would not tolerate it. If they simply pressed the right view on the British public, they would hear it now because they were in a mood to hear it. They had logic and experience on their side, but mere logic and truth would not succeed in this world unless backed up by persistent agitation and fixed determination to attain that truth. They must be determined to see that truth triumphed and that triumph was what they meant to achieve. The Home Rule propaganda was intended for that purpose.

Another argument used against home rule was that there were certain British interests which would be endangered if home rule was given, Mr. Jinnah had told them the previous day that there were British interests not only in India but all over the world. Those British interests had been created, to speak in legal terminology, without their (Indian) consent. They had never been asked when those interests were created. Legally speaking they were not barred from agitating. They knew that those British interests would be safeguarded as far as justice and law were concerned. The law of the land would remain the same. The offices would remain the same. There would no doubt be a change, but that change would be so far as control was concerned. They wanted law.



They could not do without law. To say that if Home Rule was granted to Indians there would be chaos was simple nonsense. They wanted law, they wanted all the departments, even the C. I. D. They wanted as much good rule as at present. They did not want to lapse into misrule. All that they wanted was to have those laws and rules and all those departments which administered those laws under their control. Only the previous day he read in the *Pioneer* the instance of Arrah riots and in mentioning the steps that had been taken to suppress that riot it appealed to Government to look to its duty namely, that of governing people. Did they mean to say that they were going to tolerate riots under home rule? Certainly not. They wanted peace. They would frame such rules by which riots might be averted with the consent of the people, and not without their consent. As regards the question of employment, if the Europeans were prepared to serve they would employ them, if they were fit and if they would accept what they were paid. They did not want anybody to leave India. He knew that British capital was invested in railways; but they did not want to uproot the rails and send them away to England. They wanted the railway and he thought that railways could be better administered if more Indians were employed on them. There would be changes under home rule, but not changes for the worse, they would lead to more efficient and economical rule. Their demand was

at once sober and constitutional. It remained to be seen whether the British democracy would grant those demands or not. What was at present required was a good statement of their case so that the British people who now felt inclined to make a change in the constitution of the Empire might perceive the case more fully than they had hitherto done. It was the interest of some people to have the case misrepresented, to create misunderstanding and create darkness. That ought not to be allowed to be done. In this connection he must say that Home Rule Leagues had done more work than the Congress committees. It had been said that there was the Congress and they were opposing the Congress by supporting the Home Rule League. His answer was no. The ideal and demand of the Home Rule League were the same as the ideal and demand of the Congress. It had been expressly stated from the Home Rule League platform. They did not go beyond the Congress demand. He might say the Home Rule League had been instrumental in bringing about that resolution passed by the Congress last year. So, there were no differences of ideas between the League and the Congress. Then, it was asked, where was the necessity for the Home Rule League? The work done by the Home Rule Leagues spoke for itself. These leagues had been started to educate the people and make them understand what their goal should be. If this work had been done by the Congress he should at once have given up his member-



ship of the Home Rule League. Some people wanted to work more vigorously than others. He thought every one was entitled to do that. They might form small leagues under any name. The object was the same. He wanted every one of them to work in their own way either by leagues or by associations or individually under as many different names as they liked. Names did not matter so long as the idea was the same. The work must be done provincially and in the vernaculars of the province. The work of educating the people could only be carried on in this way. There was a time when the word Home Rule was looked upon with suspicion as suggesting Irish methods, and the Irish disturbances connected with the same. They could not find a thing which had no previous associations. They must not attach particular importance to particular words. The words were made for them and not they for the words. If they used the word Home Rule what was the objection to it provided they said in the beginning what they meant by it? That controversy was therefore out of place. The real dispute now was not about words. It was about educating the people and he knew that as they began to educate the people, the discontent among the official class would increase, because they would see that eventually the demand would be forced on them. They should not care for that discontent. There was a time when it was held that they should work in such a way as to enlist the

sympathy of the administrators in the land. Of course they did wish to enlist their sympathy, but if that sympathy could not be enlisted without lowering the tone of the educative work and without lessening their effort, he was not prepared to secure that sympathy. They were all agreed that they must have home rule for their goal. They must strive for it. The question was how to strive for it. Some wanted to proceed slowly, while others wanted to proceed fast. He did not think that this was a difference for which they should quarrel and give an opportunity to their opponents to use these differences against them. They should not talk of method. Every one might have his own method provided it was constitutional. He wanted each man to keep himself within the bounds of law and constitution. He made a distinction between law and constitution. So long as law-making was not in their hands laws which were repugnant to justice and morality would be sometimes passed. They could not obey them. Passive resistance was the means to an end but was not the goal in itself. Passive resistance meant that they had to balance the advantages and disadvantages arising from obeying a particular order and not obeying it. If in their balanced judgment they found that the advantages of disobeying it under particular circumstances were greater, the sense of morality would justify them in acting upon that conviction. This was a very complicated question,



and not a question which could be discussed by a large gathering like that. They must leave the question to their leaders for their decision. They must clearly understand what passive resistance meant. It was a determination to achieve their goal at any sacrifices. If they wanted to reach their goal and if they were hindered by artificial and unjust legislation and by any unjust combination of circumstances it was their duty to fight it out. The Home Rule League wanted them to know this. If they did not want to use the words 'passive resistance' they might use the words 'at all sacrifices' but he would use both words in the sense in which he explained them. He did not preach unruliness or illegality, but he preached fixed determination to reach the goal at any sacrifice. Passive resistance, he said, was perfectly constitutional. Law and constitution were not the same. That was proved by history. So long as a particular law was not in conformity with justice and morality, and popular opinion according to the ethics of the 19th and 20th centuries, so long as a particular order was not consistent with all these principles it might be legal, but it was not constitutional. That was a distinction which he wished them to observe very clearly. They should not confound the words 'constitutionally' and 'legally.' He wanted them therefore to confine themselves to strictly constitutional means and he wanted to tell them at the same time that every law in the technical sense of the term was not constitutional. They should educate their people and

see that the right political ideal was placed before them, and their sense of justice roused so that they might work hard for that ideal without flinching in any way from it, and with all the determination they could command.

In conclusion Mr. Tilak asked the people to join the Home Rule League in large numbers and do the work of educating the people. They must wake up, and do the work enthusiastically. If they would not do it, it would be a great misfortune to the country. They would not only be ruining themselves but they would be ruining the future generation also. If they did not work for it now the future generations would curse them. They would have to do their duty to the country, to the future generations and above all to God. It was a duty which they owed to Providence which governed all nations. That Providence was favourably disposed towards them; and they should not let go the opportunity granted to them by Providence. He would impress on them the necessity of moving unitedly at present, irrespective of caste or creed, or jealousies, fearlessly and boldly. If they did that he was confident that their efforts would be crowned with success in the course of a few years by the blessing of Providence. (Loud applause.)

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## NATIONAL EDUCATION.

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*Extract from the Speech delivered in 1908  
Barsi, (Original in Morthi.)*

I shall speak here this evening on national education. We are not accustomed to this term, hence it needs a little explanation. To be able to read and write alone is no education. These are simply the means of its attainment. That which gives us a knowledge of the experiences of our ancestors is called education. It may however be through books or through anything else. Every business needs education and every man has thus to give it to his children. There is no business indeed which does not require education. Our industries have been taken away by other people, but we do not know it. A potter knows how to shape a pot of China-clay but does not know what this clay is made of; hence his industry is lost. Similarly is the necessity of religious education. How can a person be proud of his religion if he is ignorant of it? The want of religious education is one of the causes that brought the missionary influence all over our country. We did not think it until very lately whether we get this sort of education or not. The tradesmen who are present here this evening send their sons very reluctantly to school and some of them do not send at all; because they do not get there education which they need. Besides their sons educated in the present-day system turn out fashionable. They wish

to become clerks: They feel ashamed to sit on the *gaddi* where their forefathers earned the whole of their estate. The reason of this is that the education which they receive is one-sided. The Government wanted Engineers, Doctors and clerks. It therefore started such schools which could supply its need. The students therefore who came out of these schools at first were bent upon services. It was the state of things some time back that after passing three or four classes one could easily pull on with his life, but it has now become absolutely difficult, even to live from hand to mouth. We have therefore become conscious. It has become now almost clear that it is not the fault on our part that even after getting so much education we remain unable to satisfy our bare necessities ; but the fault goes direct to the education that we receive. Naturally therefore the question as to how to reform the present system of education stood before us. If the Educational Department had been under our control we could have effected in it any necessary changes immediately. At first we asked the Government to give it under our control—the selection of the text-books for school, for example. We feel now the necessity of such education which will prepare us to be good citizens. His Excellency the Governor of Bombay also admits the necessity of reforms in the present system of education. But he says that the Government is short of fund. I do not think this excuse reasonable, it may be true or otherwise. It is, however ; true that the Government cannot think over this matter.



The Government cannot give us religious education ; and it is well that they are not doing it ; because they are not our co-religionists. We are not given such education as may inspire patriotic sentiments amongst us. In America the Proclamation of Independence is taught in V or VI classes. In this way they train their children in politics. Some eighty or ninety years ago the industries of Germany declined on account of the rivalry between England and that country. But the German Government at once started scientific and mechanical education in that country. In this way Germany became so powerful in commerce that she has now become an object of dread to other countries. Properly speaking these things ought to be done by the Government itself. We pay taxes to the Government only that it may look after our welfare. But the Government wants to keep us lame. There is difference between the commercial interests of England and India. The Government therefore cannot do anything in this matter.

There being no convenient schools in the villages, our villagers cannot train their children. We must therefore begin this work. There has been a good deal of discussions over this matter. And in the end we have come to the conclusion that for proper education from all sides national schools must be started. There are some of our private schools but owing to the fear of losing the grant-in-aid, the necessary education cannot be given there. We must start our own schools for this

education. We must begin our work selflessly. Such efforts are being made all over the country. The Gurukul of Hardwar stands on these footings. Berar and Madras have also begun to move in this direction. Our *Maharashtra* is a little backward in it. A few efforts are being made here also ; but they need encouragement from you. Money is greatly needed for this work. I am sure, if you realise the necessity and importance of this subject, you would encourage the organisers generously. So far I told you about the subject, now I turn to tell you what we shall do in these schools of national education.

Of the many things that we will do there *the religious education will first and foremost engage our attention.* Secular education only is not enough to build up a character. Religious education is necessary because the study of high principles keep us away from evil pursuits. Religion reveals to us the form of the Almighty. Says our religion that a man by virtue of his action can become even a god. If we can become gods even, by virtue of our action why may we not become wise and active by means of our action like the Europeans? some say that religion begets quarrel. But I ask, "Where is it written in religion to pick up quarrels?" If there be any religion in the world which advocates toleration of other religious beliefs and instructs to stick to one's own religion, it is alone the religion of the Hindus. Hinduism to the Hindus while Islamism to the Musalmans will



be taught in these schools. And it will also be taught there to forgive and forget the differences of other religions.

*The second thing that we will do, will be to lighten the load of the study of the foreign languages.* In spite of a long stay in India no European can speak for a couple of hours fluent Marathi, while our graduates are required as a rule to obtain proficiency in the English language. One who speaks and writes good English is said, in these days, to have been educated. But a mere knowledge of the language is no true education. Such a compulsion for the study of foreign languages does not exist anywhere except in India. We spend twenty or twenty-five years for the education which we can easily obtain in seven or eight years if we get it through the medium of our vernaculars. We cannot help learning English; but there is no reason why its study should be made compulsory. Under the Mahomedan rule we were required to learn the Persian but we were not compelled to study it. To save this unnecessary waste of time we have proposed to give education through our own vernaculars.

*The Industrial education will be the third thing.* In no school this education is given. That will be given in these schools. It is an important thing. During the whole of this century we did not know how a match is prepared. In Sholapur matches are manufactured from straw; and straw is found abundantly in our country. If

therefore this industry is taken into our hands, the importation of matches will largely decrease in India. It is the same with the sugar industry. We can procure here as good sugarcanes as are found in Mauritius. It is seen by scientific experiments that the sugarcanes found in the suburbs of Poona can produce as much sugar as is found in the sugarcanes of Mauritius. Six crores of rupees are drained out every year from this country only for sugar. Why should this be? Well can we not get here sugarcanes? or the machinery necessary for its manufacture? The reason is that we do not get here the education in this industry. It is not so in Germany. The Department of industry investigates there as to which industry is decaying, and if perchance there be any, in a decaying state, a substantial support at once comes forth from the Government for reviving it. The British Government, too, does the same thing in England. But our Government does not do it here. It may be a mistake, or the Government may be doing it knowingly, but it is clear that we must not sit silent if the Government is not doing it. We are intending to start a large machanical and scientific laboratory for this purpose. Sugar produces *Rab* and from *Rab* is extracted liquor, but the Government does not permit us this extraction; hence we cannot get here cheap sugar. Mauritius imports here twenty thousand tons of sugar every year. All these things are due to the policy of the Government, but we do not know it. The Government will be obliged to change it, if we put pressure upon it.



We have come to learn these things not earlier than twenty-five years after leaving the college. Our youngmen should know them in their prime of life.

*Education in politics will be the fourth thing.* We are not taught this subject in the Government schools. The student must understand that the Queen's Proclamation is the foundation of our rights. The Government is trying to shut our youngmen from these things. What has been proved by our revered Grand Old man—Dadabhoy Naoroji, after a ceaseless exertion for over fifty years, should be understood by our students in their youth. Every year some thirty or forty crores of rupees are drained out of India without any return. We have, therefore, fallen to a wretched state of poverty. These things, if understood in the prime of life, can make such a lasting impression over the hearts of our youngmen, as is impossible in an advanced age. Therefore this education should be given in school. Educated men of the type of Prof. Vijapurkar, have come forth to devote their lives in the cause of this education. The educationists are helping with their learning and experience, and it now remains with the well-to-do to help them with money. It is a matter of common benefit, if the future generation come out good, able to earn their bread and as true citizens. We would have been glad if the Government had done it. If the Government cannot do it, we must do. The Government will not interfere with us and if at all it does so, we should

not mind it. As the dawn of the Sun cannot be stopped so it is with this. Our poverty has not yet reached in excelsis. In America these works are done by a single man. But if no one man can venture to do so here, let us do it unitedly, for we are thirty crores of people. A sum of five lacs of rupees goes out every year for liquor alone from Sholapur. Can you not therefore help us in this work? Will is wanted. Let the Government be displeased—we hope the Government will never compel us—we must do our duty. If the Government prohibits us from marriages, are we to obey it? The same is with education. (As men do not give up building houses for fear of rats that they would dig holes, so we should not give up our work for fear of Government displeasure. If perchance any difficulty arises, our youngmen are to face it. To fear difficulties is to lose manliness.) Difficulties do us immense good. They inspire in us courage and prepare us for bearing them manly. A nation cannot progress if it gets no difficulties in its way. We do not get this sort of education for want of self-government. We should not therefore await the coming of these rights, but we must get up and begin the work.

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## A Standard Character for India Languages.

*(Speech delivered at Benares at the Nagari Pracharni Sabha Conference under the Presidency of Mr. R. C. Dutt in December 1905.)*

Gentlemen, the scope and object of the Nagari Pracharni Sabha has already been explained to you by the president. I should have gladly dialated on the same. But as ten speakers are to follow me within an hour and a half, I must forego the pleasure and restrict myself, during the few minutes at my disposal to a brief mention of the points which I think ought to be kept in view in endeavouring to work on the lines adopted by the Sabha.

The first and the most important thing we have to remember is that this movement is not merely for establishing a common character for the Northern India. It is a part and parcel of a larger movement, I may say a national Movement to have a common language for the whole of India ; for a common language is an important element of nationality. It is by a common language that you express your thoughts to others ; and Manu rightly says that everything is comprehended or proceeded from *vak* or language. Therefore if you want to draw a nation together there is no force more powerful than to have a common language for all. And that is the end which the Sabha has kept in view.

But how is the young to be attained? We aim at having a common language not only for Northern India, but I will say; in course of time, for the whole of India including the Southern or the Madras Presidency, and when the scope of our labours is so widened our difficulties seem to grow apace. First of all we have to space what may be called the historic difficulties. The contests between the Aryans and the non-Aryans in ancient, and between the Mahomedans and the Hindus in later times have destroyed the linguistic harmony of the country. In Northern India the languages spoken by the Indian population are mostly Aryan, being derived from Sanskrit; while those in the South are Dravidian in origin. The difference exists not only in words but in the characters in which those words are written. Next to this is the difference between Urdu and Hindi to which so much prominence is given in this province. On our side we have also the Modi or the running script character as distinguished from the Bala-bodha or the Devanagari in which the Marathi books are ordinarily printed.

There are, therefore, two great important elements which we have to harmonise and bring together under our common character or language before we venture to go to the Mahomedan or Persian characters. I have already said that though a common language for India is the ultimate end we have in view, we begin with the lowest step of the ladder, I mean a common character



for Hindus. But here too we have to harmonise the two elements now mentioned—the Aryan or the Devanagari character, and the Dravidian or the Tamil character. It should be noted, that the distinction is not one of character only in as much as there are certain sounds in the Dravidian languages which are not to be found in any Aryan language.

We have resolved to proceed step by step, and as explained to you by the president we have at first taken up in hand only the group of the Aryan languages *i.e.*, those derived from Sanskrit. These are Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarathi and Gurumukhi. There are other sub-dialects, but I have named the principal ones. These languages are all derived from Sanskrit ; and the characters in which they are written are also modifications of the ancient characters of India. In course of time each of these languages has however, developed its own peculiarities in grammar, pronunciation and characters, though the alphabet in each is nearly the same.

The Nagari Pracharini Sabha aims at having a common character for all these Aryan languages, so that when a book is printed in that character it may be more readily intelligible to all the people speaking the Aryan languages. I think we all agree on this point and admit its utility. But the difficulty arises, when a certain character is proposed as best fitted to be the common character for all. Thus, for instance the Bengalis may urge that the characters in which they write their

language are more ancient than those adopted by the Gujarathi or Marathi speaking people, and that the Bengali should therefore be selected as a common character for all. There are others who think that the Devanagari, as you find it in the printed books, is the oldest character and therefore it is entitled to be the common character for all the Aryan languages.

I do not think, however, that we can decide this question on pure historic grounds. If you go to ancient inscriptions you will find that no less than ten different characters were in use at different times since the days of Ashoka and that Kharoshtri or Brahmi is believed to be the oldest of them all. Since then all letters have undergone a great deal of change; and all our existing characters are modifications of some one or other of the ancient characters. It would, I think, therefore be idle to decide the question of common character on purely antiquarian basis.

To avoid this difficulty it was at one time suggested that we should all adopt Roman characters; and one reason advanced in support thereof was that it would give a common character both for Asia and Europe.

Gentlemen the suggestion appears to me to be utterly ridiculous. The Roman alphabet, and therefore Roman Character, is very defective and entirely unsuited to express the sounds used by us. It has been found to be defective even by English grammarians. Thus while sometimes a single letter has three or four



sounds, sometimes a single sound is represented by two or three letters. Add to it the difficulty of finding Roman characters or letters that would exactly represent the sounds in our languages without the use of any diacritic marks, and the ridiculousness of the suggestion would be patent to all.

If a common character is needed for us all, it should be, you will therefore see, a more perfect character than the Roman. European Sanskritists have declared that the Devanagari alphabet is more perfect than any which obtains in Europe. And with this clear opinion before us it would be suicidal to go to any other alphabet in our search for a common character for all the Aryan languages in India. No, I would go further and say that the classification of letters and sounds on which we have bestowed so much labour in India and which we find perfected in the works of Panini is not to be found in any other language in the world. That is another reason why the Devanagari alphabet is the best suited to represent the different sounds we all use. If you compare the different characters given at the end of each Book published in the Sacred Books of the East Series you will be convinced of what I say. We have one sound for one letter and one letter for each sound. I do not think, therefore, that there can be any difference of opinion as to what alphabet we should adopt. The Devanagari is pre-eminently such an alphabet. The question is one of character or the form in writing which the letters, of the alphabet assume in different

*not standing  
passing  
these in good  
bad habits*

provinces ; and I have already said that this question cannot be solved on mere antiquarian grounds.

Like Lord Curzon's standard time we want a standard character. Well, if Lord Curzon had attempted to give us a standard character on national lines he would have been entitled to our respect far more than by giving us a standard time. But it has not been done ; and we must do it ourselves giving up all provincial prejudices. The Bengalis naturally take pride in their own character. I do not blame them for it. There are others in Gujarath who say that their character is easy to write because they omit the head-line. The Maharashtries on the other hand may urge that Marathi is the character in which Sanskrit is written, and therefore, it ought to be the common character for the whole of India.

I fully appreciate the force of these remarks. But we must come to a solution of the question and for that purpose discuss the subject in a business-like and practical manner. Whatever character we adopt, it must be easy to write, elegant to the eye and capable of being written with fluency. The letters that you devise must again be sufficient to express all the sounds in different Aryan languages, nay, must be capable of being extended to express the Dravidian sounds without diacritic marks. There should be one letter for every sound and *vice versa*. That is what I mean by sufficient and complete character. And if we put our hands together it would not be difficult to devise such a character based

neat, refined,  
nice, nicely  
ornamental.



on the existing ones. In determining upon such a character we shall have to take into consideration the fact, namely, which of the existing characters is or are used over a wider area. For a single character used over a wider area if suited in other respects will naturally claim preference to be a common character as far as it goes.

When you have appointed your committee for the purpose and found out a common character, I think we shall have to go to Government and urge upon its attention the necessity of introducing in the vernacular school books of each province a few lessons in this standard character, so that the next generation may become familiar with it from its school days. Studying a new character is not a difficult task. But there is a sort of reluctance to study a new character after one's studies are completed. This reluctance can be overcome by the way I have suggested and herein Government can help us. It is not a political question as such though in the end everything may be said to be political. A Government that gave us a standard time and standard system of weights and measures would not, I think, object to lend its help to a scheme which aims to secure a standard character for all Aryan languages.

When this common character is established it would not be difficult to read the books printed in one dialect of the Aryan language by those who use a different dialect of the same? My own difficulty is not under-

standing a Bengali book is that I cannot read the characters. If a Bengali book is printed in the Devanagari characters I can follow the author to a great extent, if not wholly, so as to understand the purport of the book ; for, over fifty per cent of the words used will be found borrowed or derived from Sanskrit. We are all fast adopting new ideas from the West and with the help of the parent tongue, the Sanskrit coining new words to express the same. Here, therefore, is another direction in which we may work for securing a common language for all and I am glad to see that by preparing a dictionary of scientific terms in Hindi, the Sabha is doing a good service in this line. I should have liked to say something on this point. But as there are other speakers to follow me, I do not think I shall be justified in doing so and therefore resume my seat with your permission.



## The Bharata Dharma Mahamandala.

*(Benares, 3rd January 1906).*

I am sorry I cannot address you in any other language except Marathi and English. English should be boycotted for religious purposes. But I cannot help and hope you will excuse me. I shall speak a few words on the importance of Hindu religion, its present condition and efforts that are being made to preserve it from decay. What is Hindu religion? If you go to the different parts of India, you will find different views about Hindu religion entertained by different people. Here you are mostly Vaishnavas or followers of Shri Krishna. If you go to the south, you will meet followers of Ramanuja and such others. What is Hindu religion then? Bharata Dharma Mahamandala cannot be a Mahamandala unless it includes and co-ordinates these different sections and parts. Its name can only be significant if different sections of Hindu religion are united under its banner. All these different sects are so many branches of the Vedic religion. The term Sanatan Dharma shows that our religion is very old—as old as the history of the human race itself. Vedic religion was the religion of the Aryans from a very early time. But you all know no branch can stand by itself. Hindu religion as a whole made up of different parts co-related to each other as so many sons and daughters of one great religion. If this idea is kept in view and if we

try to unite the various sections it will be consolidated in a mighty force. So long as you are divided amongst yourselves, so long as one section does not recognise its affinity with another, you cannot hope to rise as Hindus. Religion is an element in nationality. The word Dharma means a tie and comes from the root *dhri* to bear or hold. What is there to hold together? To connect the soul with God, and man with man. Dharma means our duties towards God as well as towards our fellow-creature. Religion is made up of both these elements—duty towards God and duty towards man. Hindu religion as such provides for a moral as well as social tie. This being our definition we must go back to the past and see how it was worked out. During Vedic times India was a self contained country. It was united as a great nation. That unity has disappeared bringing on us great degradation and it becomes the duty of the leaders to revive that union. A Hindu of this place is as much a Hindu as the one from Madras or Bombay. You might put on a different dress, speak a different language, but you should remember that the inner sentiments which move you all are the same. The study of the Gita, Ramayana and Mahabharath produce the same ideas throughout the country. Are not these—common allegiance to the Vedas, the Gita and the Ramayana—our common heritage? If we lay stress on it forgetting all the minor differences that exist between different sects, then by



the grace of Providence we shall ere long be able to consolidate all the different sects into a mighty Hindu nation. This ought to be the ambition of every Hindu. If you thus work to unite you will find within a few years one feeling and one thought actuating and dominating all people throughout the country. This is the work we have to do. The present condition of our religion is not at all one that is desirable. We think ourselves separated and the feeling of that unity which was at the root of our advancement in the past is gone. It is certainly an unfortunate circumstance that we should have so many sections and sub-sections. It is the duty of an association like the Bharata Dharma Mahamandala to work to restore the lost and forgotten union. In the absence of unity India cannot claim its place among the nations of the world. For some two hundred years India was in the same condition as it is to-day. Buddhism flourished and attacks were made on Hindu religion by Buddhists and Jains. After 600 years of chaos rose one great leader, Shankaracharya and he brought together all the common philosophical elements of our religion and proved and preached them in such a way that Buddhism was swept away from the land.

We have the grand and eternal promise Shri Krishna has given in the Gita that whenever there is a decay of Dharma, He comes down to restore it. When there is a decay owing to disunion, when good men are

prosecuted, then Shri Krishna comes down to save us. There is no religion on the face of the earth except the Hindu religion wherein we find such a hopeful promise that God comes to us as many times as necessary. After Mahomed no prophet is promised, and Jesus Christ comes once for ever. No religion holds such promise full of hope. It is because of this that the Hindu religion is not dead. We are never without hope. Let heretics say what they may. A time will come when our religious thoughts and our rights will be vindicated. Each man is doing his best, and as the association is doing its best, every Hindu is welcome to assist it and carry it to its goal. If we do not find men coming forward let us hope they will do so in the next generation. We are never without hope; no other religion has such a definite and sacred promise as we have of Shri Krishna it is based on truth and truth never dies. I say it and I am prepared to prove this statement. I believe that truth is not vouchsafed to one only. The great characteristic of truth is that it is universal and catholic. It is not confined to any particular race. Hindu religion tolerates all religions. Our religion says that all religions are based on truth, "you follow yours, I mine."

Shri Krishna says that the followers of other religions worship God though not in a proper form. Shri Krishna does not say that the followers of other religions would be doomed to eternal hell. I challenge any body to point out to me a similar text from the scriptures of



other religions. It cannot be found in any other religion, because they are partial truth while our Hindu religion is based on the whole, the Sanatan truth, and therefore it is bound to triumph in the end. Numerical strength also is a great strength. ( Can the religion which counts its followers by crores die? ) Never, unless the crores of our fellow-followers are suddenly swept away, our religion will not die. All that is required for our glorious triumph and success is that we should unite all the different sects on a common platform and let the stream of Hindu religion flow through one channel with mighty consolidated and concentrated force. This is the work which the Bharata Dharma Mandala has to do and accomplish. Let us be all united. Because a particular man wears a particular dress, speaks a different tongue, worships a particular *devata*, is that any reason for our withdrawing our hands of fellowship to our Hindu brother? The character of our Hindu religion is very comprehensive—as comprehensive as its literature itself; we have a wonderful literature. Wisdom, as is concentrated in Gita and epitomised in about 700 verses, that wisdom, I am confident, cannot be defeated or overcome by any philosophy, be it Western or any other. Now I turn to the forces that are arrayed against us. There are mainly two forces of (1) science and (2) Christianity. If our religion is threatened with any hostile criticism, it comes from these two. As for the first, a great change is coming over the West and truths that are discovered by them were known to our Rishis.

Modern science is gradually justifying and vindicating our ancient wisdom. With the establishment of Physical Research Societies and the expansion of scientific knowledge they have come to understand that the fundamental principles of our religion are based on truth that can be proved. Take an instance. Chaitanya pervades every thing. It is strictly a Hindu theory. Professor Bose has recently shown that this Vedantic doctrine is literally true according to modern science. Take the doctrine of the survival of soul independent of the body.

Doctrines of Karma and Re-incarnation go with it. Spencer never believed in these. But recently it has been our great privilege to see that Sir Oliver, Lodge and Mayor and others have declared that the soul does not die with body ; so much now they are convinced of. Modern science accepts the doctrine of Karma if not of re-incarnation. But it is not the belief of Christianity. They hold that God gives a new soul each and every time. Thus it would be seen that a change is coming over the West. Our enemies are fast disappearing before the teachings of modern science take courage and work hard for the final triumph. If you make a little effort and aim at union, you have a bright future before you. Now-a-day Vedanta is not only read but studied by Americans. No European doctor believes that the beating of the heart can be voluntarily stopped. But it has been proved to the contrary. Vedanta



and Yoga have been fully vindicated by modern science and these aim at giving you spiritual union. It is our clear duty, therefore to follow truth and re-edit our scriptures and place them before the world in the light of modern science that they may be acceptable to all. But I tell you again unity is necessary for such work, You would be wanting in duty to yourself and to your ancestors if you do not give up provincial prejudices and promote unity that underlies all sects. We have been very idle. We have grown so stupid owing to our idleness that we are required to be told by foreigners that our treasures conceal gold and not iron. Modern science and education are prepared to help you if you take advantage of them, and time will come when instead of Christians preaching Christianity here we shall see our preachers preaching Sanatan Dharma all over the world. Concentrate all your forces. The idea of a Hindu University where our old religion will be taught along with modern science is a very good one and should have the support of all. In conclusion, I would again draw your attention to bring about a harmonious union of all sects and rightly claim and obtain our rightful place among the nations of the world.

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**Honest Swadeshi.**

*(Speech delivered on Sunday the 23rd December 1906 in Beadon Square, Calcutta, under the Presidency of Lala Lajpat Rai).*

I did not expect to have to speak on the day on which my long journey from Poona came to an end, but circumstances appear to have left me no choice. Lord Minto opened the Industrial Exhibition here the other day and in doing so, said that honest Swadeshism should be dissociated from political aspirations. In other words the Swadeshi agitation had, within the last eighteen months been carried on by the workers for motives other than those professed and for ends not yet disclosed. This is entirely an unfair representation of the existing state of things and can easily be demonstrated to be so. To begin with, if Lord Minto thinks the Swadeshi workers dishonest, why should he have associated himself with them by consenting to open the Exhibition? Further, if Lord Minto is honest, and our Bengal leaders who have been preaching the Swadeshi cause are dishonest, why should they have invited his Lordship to do the formal and ceremonious act of declaring the Exhibition open? So taken either way, it will appear that his Lordship and our leaders cannot possibly hit it off together. If he did not want us, we shall certainly be able to do without him. So his consenting to perform the opening ceremony was clearly a great blunder. Then



is our movement really dishonest? In Germany, France America, Governments protect their infant industries by imposing taxes on imports. The Government of India should also have done the same as it professes to rule India in the interests of Indians. It failed in its duty, so the people are trying to do for themselves what the Government ought to have done years and years ago. No, Lord Minto dares not call the Emperor of Germany dishonest nor can he similarly characterise the presidents of the French or American Republics. How then can our leaders be called dishonest? Are they to be abused because they are endeavouring to do what the Government has culpably omitted to do? As head of a despotic Government, his Lordship cannot possibly sympathise with the political aspirations and agitations of the people, and it may be expected that he may maintain an unbroken silence about it. Had I been in his Lordship's position I would have done so, but why should Lord Minto call us dishonest? There is a harder word that is on my lips but to say the least it is impolitic of Lord Minto to have said so. There it was said that Swadeshi was an industrial movement and has nothing to do with politics. We all know that Government is not engaged in commerce. It might have begun that way but it certainly does not trade now. Did it not protect British trade and adopt measures to promote it? If the Indian Government dissociates itself from the commercial aspirations of the British nation, then it will be time for

Swadeshi workers to consider the question of dissociating their movement from politics. But so long as politics and commerce are blended together, in this policy of the Government of India, it will be a blunder to dissociate Swadeshi from politics. In fact, Swadeshism is a large term which includes politics and to be a true Swadeshi one must look on all lines—whether political or industrial or economical—which converge our people towards the status of a civilised nation. Gentlemen, I insist on your emphatically repudiating the charge of dishonesty.

### Self-Government.

*(Speech delivered in Lucknow Congress of 1916 in supporting the Resolution of Self-Government.)*

Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—I thank you sincerely for the reception that you have given me on this platform ; but let me tell you that I am not fool enough to think that this reception is given to my person. It is given, if I rightly understand, for those principles for which I have been fighting. (Hear, hear) The resolution which I wish to support embodies all those principles. It is the resolution on self-government. It is that for which we have been fighting, the Congress has been fighting for the last 30



years. The first note of it was heard ten years ago on the banks of the Hooghly and it was sounded by the Grand Old Man of India—I mean the patriot, Parsi gentleman of Bombay, Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji. (Applause.) Since that note was sounded a difference of opinion arose. Some said that that note ought to be carried on and ought to be followed by a detailed scheme at once, and that it should be taken up and made to resound all over India as soon as possible. There was the other party amongst us that said that it could not be done so soon and that the tune of that note required to be a little lowered. That was the cause of dissension ten years ago. But I am glad to say that I have lived these ten years to see that we re-unite on this platform and that we are going to put forward our voice and shoulders to push on this scheme of self-government. We have lived—there is a further thing—not only have we lived to see these differences closed but to see the differences of the Hindus and Mahomedans closed as well. So we are united in every way in the United Provinces and we have found that luck in Lucknow. (Laughter.) So I consider it the most auspicious day, the most auspicious in the most auspicious session of the 31st Indian National Congress. And there are only one or two points on which I wish to address you.

It has been said, gentlemen, by some that we Hindus have yielded too much to our Mahomedan brethren. I am sure I represent the sense of the Hindu community all over India when I say that we could not have yielded

too much. I would not care if the rights of self-government are granted to the Mahomedan community only. (Hear, hear) I would not care if they are granted to the Rajputs. I would not care if they are granted to the lower and the lowest classes of the Hindu population provided the British Government considers them more fit than the educated classes of India for exercising those rights. I would not care if those rights are granted to any section of the Indian community. Then the fight will be between them and the other sections of the community and not as at present a triangular fight. We have to get these rights from a powerful Bureaucracy, an unwilling Bureaucracy, naturally unwilling because the Bureaucracy will feel that those rights, that authority, will pass out of their hands. I would feel the same thing and I am not going to blame the Bureaucracy for entertaining that natural feeling. But whatever the character of that feeling may be it is a feeling which we have to combat against ; it is a feeling that is not conducive to the growth of self-government in this country. We have to fight against that feeling and when we have to fight against a third party it is a very great thing, a very important event, that we stand on this platform united, united in race, united in religion, united as regards all different shades of political creed. That is the most important event of the day.

Let us glance, as I said, ten years ago when Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji declared that Swaraj should be our goal. The father has christened it, has baptised it with



the name of Swaraj. Later on it came to be known as self-government or constitutional reform; and we Nationalists style it Home Rule. It is all the same—one in three different names. It is said that as there is objection raised that Swaraj has a bad odour in India and Home Rule has a bad odour in England we ought to call it constitutional reform. I don't care to call it as any reform. If you style it as A. B. C. reform scheme or X. Y. Z. reform scheme I am equally content; I don't mind for the name, but I believe we have hardly realized the importance and character of that scheme of reform. Let me tell you that it is far more liberal than the Irish Home Rule Bill and then you can understand what possibilities it carries with it. It will not be complete Home Rule but more than a beginning of it. It may not be complete self-government but it is far better than local self-government. (Laughter.) It may not be Swaraj in the widest sense of the word but it is far better than Swadeshi and boycott. It is in fact a synthesis of all the Congress resolutions passed during the last 30 years,—a synthesis that will help us on to proceed to work in a definite, in a certain responsible manner. We cannot now afford to spend our energy on all 30 resolutions—public service resolutions, Arms Act and sundry others. All that is included in this one resolution of self-government and I would ask every one of you to try to carry out this one resolution with all your effort, might and enthusiasm, and everything that you can command. Your intelligence, your money, your enthusiasm

all that you can command must now be devoted for carrying out the scheme of reform. Don't think it is an easy task. Nothing can be gained by passing a resolution on this platform. Nothing can be gained by simple union of the two races, Hindus and Mahomedans and the two parties Moderates and Nationalists. The union is intended to create a certain power and energy amongst us and unless that energy and power are exercised to the utmost you cannot hope to succeed. So great are the obstacles in your way. You must now be prepared to fight out your scheme in short. I don't care if the sessions of the Congress are not held any longer. I think it has done its work as a deliberative body. The next part is executive and I hope I shall be able to place before you later the executive part of the scheme. It is only the deliberative part that has been placed before you. Remember what has been done. It is not the time for speaking. When Swaraj was declared as our goal it was questioned whether it was legal and the Calcutta High Court has declared that it was. Then it was said that Swaraj was legal but it must be expressed in such words as not to amount to criticism of the Bureaucracy. That too has been judicially decided.—You can criticize, you can make any criticism in order to further your object, in order to justify your demand, perfectly within the bounds of law. So the goal has been declared legal. Here you have a specific scheme of Swaraj passed by the United India. All the thorns in our way have been removed.



It will be your fault if you now do not obtain what is now described in it. Remember that. But I ask you it is very serious responsibility. Don't shirk it. Work. I say the days of wonders are gone. You cannot now feed hundreds of people on a few crumbs of bread as Jesus did. The attainment of this object cannot be achieved by a wonder from heaven. You have to do it. These are days of work, incessant labour, and I hope that with the help of Providence you will find that energy, that enthusiasm and those resources which are required for carrying out this scheme within the next two years to come. If not by the end of 1917, when I expect the war will be closed, during at least 1918 we shall meet at some place in India where we shall be able to raise up the banner of self-rule. (Loud applause.)

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**Swarajya.**

*Speech delivered on 1st May 1916 at Belgaum  
(Original in Mahrathi).*

When I was requested to give a lecture here (Belgaum) to-day, I did not know on what to lecture. I do not stand before you to-day after having made any preparation for any particular subject. I had come for the conference. Thinking that it would not be improper if I were to say a few words to you about those subjects which were discussed during the past two or four days and about the object with which a Home Rule League was established here before the Congress, I have selected that subject for to-day's lecture.

What is *swarajya*? Many have a misconception about this. Some do not understand this thing. Some, understanding it, misrepresent it. Some do not want it. Thus there are many kinds of them. Therefore I am not prepared to-day to make any particular discussion of any sort beyond saying a few general words on the following among other points: What is *swarajya*? Why do we ask for it? Are we fit for it or not? In what manner must we make this demand for *swarajya* of those of whom we have to make it? In what direction and on what lines are we to carry on the work which we have to carry on? It is not the case that these general words which I am going to say are the outcome of my effort and exertion alone. The idea of *swarajya* is an old one. Of course, when *swarajya* is spoken of (it shows that) there is some kind of rule opposed to *swa* (i.e., our), and



(that) this idea originates at that time. This is plain. When such a condition arrives, it begins to be thought that there should be *swarajya*, and men make exertions for that purpose. You are at present in that sort of condition. Those who are ruling over you do not belong to your religion, race or even country. The question whether this rule of the English Government is good or bad is different. The question about 'one's own' and 'alien' is different. Do not make a confusion of the two at the outset. When the question 'alien' or 'one's own' comes, we must say, 'alien.' When the question 'good or bad' comes, say 'good' or say 'bad.' If (you) say 'bad' then what improvement must be made in it?—this question is different. If (you) say 'good,' it must be seen what good things are under it which were not under the former rule. These are different points of view. Hence, the reason why the demand for *swarajya* first arose is that...Formerly there were many kingdoms in our India—in some places there was Muhammedan (rule), in some places there was Rajput (rule), in some places there was Hindu (rule) and in some places there was Maratha (rule)—were these *swarajyas* good or bad? I again remind you that this is a different question. We shall consider it afterwards. All those being broken up, the universal sovereignty of the English Government has been established in India. To-day we have not to consider the history of their downfall. We have not to consider how they fell. Nor am I going to speak about it. But the present system of administration is such

that some able men who have been educated in England and have received college education come to India and the State administration of India is carried on through them. 'Emperor' is (merely) a name. When you give a visible form to the sentiment which arises in your mind at the mention of (the word) *raja* (i. e., king), there is the present Emperor. This sentiment is invisible. When a visible form is given to this invisible (something), there is the King—the Emperor. But the Emperor does not carry on the administration. The question of *swaraja* is not about the Emperor nor about this invisible sentiment. This must be remembered at the outset. Let there be any country, it must have a king, it must have some man to carry on its management and there must be exercised some sort of rule in it. The case of anarchical nations is different. These nations never rise. As in a house there must be some one to look to its management—when there is no man belonging to the house an outsider is brought in as a trustee—just so is the case also of a kingdom. In every country there is a certain body for carrying on its administration and there is some (sort of) arrangement. An analysis must be made of both these things, *viz.*, of this arrangement and this body and, as stated yesterday by the President (the President of the Provincial Conference), of the sentiment of 'king.' There must be a king, there must be state administration. Both these propositions are true from the historical point of view. Of a country where there is no order, where there is no king



that is where there is no supervising body, the Mahabharat says: 'A wise man should not live even for a moment at that place. There is no knowing when at that place our lives may be destroyed, when our wealth may be stolen, when our house may be dacoited, nay, set on fire.' There must be a government. I will not say at length what there was in the *krityug* in ancient times. The people of that time did not require a king. Every one used to carry on dealings only after seeing in what mutual good lay. Our Purans say that there was once a condition when there was no king. But if we consider whether such a state existed in historical times it will appear that such a condition did not exist in historical times. There must be some controller or other. That control cannot be exercised every time by all people assembling together at one place. Hence, sovereign authority is always divided into two parts: one the advisory body, and the other the executive body. The question about *swarajya* which has now arisen in India is not about the said invisible sentiment. This question is not about those who are to rule over us, (and) according to whose leadership, by whose order and under whose guidance that rule is to be exercised. It is an undisputed fact that we should secure our own good under the rule of the English people themselves, under the supervision of the English nation, with the help of the English nation, through their sympathy, through their anxious care and through those high sentiments which they possess.

And I have to say nothing about this (cheers). This is the first thing. Do not create confusion in your minds by confounding both the things. These two things are quite distinct. What we have to do we must do with the help of some one or other, since to-day we are in such a helpless condition. It is an undoubted fact that we must secure our good under their protection. Had it not been so, your independence would never have gone. Hence if we take for granted that we have to bring about the dawn of our good fortune with the help of the English Government and the British Empire, then the one more strange thing which some people see (lit. think) in this will altogether disappear. To speak in other words, there is no sedition in this. If then without the help of the English Government—if the words 'invisible English Government' be used for the words 'English Government' there will be no mistake—if with the help of this invisible English Government, with the aid of this invisible English Government, you are to bring about the dawn of your good fortune, then, what is it that you ask? This second question arises. The answer to it again, lies in the very distinction of which I spoke to you. Though a Government may be invisible, still when it begins to become visible, the management of that kingdom is carried on by its hands and by its actions. This state of being visible is different from invisible Government. If you ask how, (I say) in the same manner as the great Brahma is different from Maya. I have taken the words



visible and invisible' from Vedanta (philosophy). The great Brahma which is without attributes and form is different and the visible form which it assumes when it begins to come under the temptation of Maya is different. Hence these dealings which are due to Maya are sure to change. What is the characteristic of Maya? (It is) to change every moment. One Government will remain (*viz.*) invisible Government, and the visible Government changes every moment. The word *swarajya* which has now arisen relates to visible Government. Maintaining the invisible Government as one, what change, if effected, in the momentarily changing visible Government, would be beneficial to our nation? This is the question of *swarajya*. And this being called the question of *swarajya*, there arises the question, 'In whose hands should be that sort of administration which is now carried on in our India?' We do not wish to change the invisible Government—English Government. We say that (the administration) should not be in the hands of a visible entity by whose hands this invisible Government is getting works done, but should pass into some other's hands. The *swarajya* agitation which is now carried on is carried on in the belief that this administration, if carried on by some other hands (or) with the help of some one else, (or) by some other visible form, would be (more) beneficial to the people than when carried on by those by whose hands it is carried on. If another instance is to be given, it can be said that there is an Emperor in England. An

English Act contains the rule that the King commits no wrong. The King never commits a wrong (lit. offence). For, his authority is limited in such a manner that (only) when a certain minister goes and tells something, to him then he knows it. The Prime Minister does acts on his own responsibility. There may be a good many (people) here who have studied English history. It is not the case that this is not so. This is the chief principle in it. This principle having arisen in English history, (the number of) seditious cases began to fall. While here, these (people) begin to institute cases of sedition. Those who carry on the administration are different and the King is different. The King is one and the same. But the ministry changes every five years. At that time no one says that it would be sedition if any one were to start any discussion advocating change of ministry. These are the things happening every day before the eyes of the English people. The King's circle (of ministers) went (out of office) after five years went (out of office) after two years ; they may quarrel among themselves as much as they like. What is that to the King? He is the great Brahma without attributes. He is not affected by this. The *swarajya* agitation now existing in India is, then, about change in such a ministry. Who rules in India? Does the Emperor come and do it? He is to be taken in procession like a god on a great occasion, we are to manifest our loyalty towards him, this alone is their duty. Through whom, then, is the administra-



tion carried on? It is carried on through those who are now servants *vis*, the State Secretary, Viceroy, Governor, below him the Collector, the Patil and lastly the Police sepoy. If it be said that one Police sepoy should be transferred and another Police sepoy should be given, would that constitute sedition? If it be said that the Collector who has come is not wanted and that another is wanted, would that constitute sedition? If it be said that one Governor is not wanted, another Governor should be brought, would that constitute sedition? If it be said, 'This State Secretary is not wanted, bring another', would that constitute sedition? Nobody has called this sedition. The same principle which is applicable to a Police sepoy is also applicable to the State Secretary. We are the subjects of the same King whose minister the State Secretary is and whose servant he is. This then being so, if any one were to say, 'The State Secretary is not wanted, this Viceroy is not wanted, Fuller Saheb is not wanted in Bengal.' such resolutions have often been passed in the case of Governors, not in the present but in the past times, and were to give reasons for that, you would say about him that his head must have been turned, (and that) the reasons he gives are not good or sufficient. But from the historical point of view it does not follow that when he says so that constitutes sedition (cheers). Our demand belongs to the second class. It is concerned with *swarajya*. Consider well what I say. If you think that the present administration is carried on well then I have nothing to say. In

the Congresses and Conferences that are now held you come and say : ' Our *kulkarni vatan* has been taken (away), *sulum* has been exercised upon us in connection with the Forest Department, liquor (drinking) has spread more in connection with the Abkari (Department), also we do not receive that sort of education which we ought to get.' What is the root of all this? What is the benefit of merely saying this? Why do you not get education? Why are shops of the Abkari Department opened where we do not want them? In the Forest Department, laws about reserved forests and about forests of this sort or of that sort are made. Why were they made? At present, lists upon lists about this come before the Congress. Why was your jury abolished against your will? Why was no College opened in the Karnatic up to this time? All these questions are of such a kind that there is but one answer to them. At present our thoughts run this way, is there no College?—make petition to the Collector or to the Governor, because they have power in their hands. If this power had come into your hands, if you had been the officials in their places or if their authority had been responsible to the public opinion, these things would not have happened. No other answer than this can be given to the above. These (things) happen because there is no authority in your hands. The authority to decide these matters is not given to you for whose good this whole arrangement is to be made. Hence what we may have to ask becomes like (that asked by) a little child. It



cries when it is hungry. It cannot say that it is hungry. Then the mother has to find out whether it may be hungry or have a *bellyache*. Sometimes the remedies used prove to be out of place. Such has become our condition at present. In the first place you do not at all know what you want (and) where lies your difficulty. When you came to know it, you began to speak with your mouth. But you have no power in your hands to cause (things) to be done according to your words. Such being the condition, what has happened now? Whatever you have to do, whatever you want—if you want to dig a well in your house make a petition to the Collector. If you want to kill a tiger in the forest make a petition to the Collector. Grass is not obtained, bundles (of wood) are not obtained from the forest, permission to cut grass is required—petition the Collector. That is to say, all this has become like (the case of a) helpless man. We do not want this arrangement. We want some better arrangement than this. That is *swarajya*, that is Home Rule. In the beginning these questions do not arise. As when a boy is young, he knows nothing, when he grows up he begins to know these things, and then begins to think that it would be very good if the household management were made at least to some extent according to his opinion, just so it is with a nation. When (lit. as) it is able to consider this thing, when it acquires the capacity of considering (this thing), then this question is likely to arise. But now the condition here has become such that we

had better give up the above thought, let us give up the thought about the invisible Government, let us come within the limits of the visible Government, (we then see that) the people who make this arrangement, who carry on this administration, are appointed in England according to a certain rule and law, and rules are made within the limits of those laws as to what should be their policy. These rules may be good or bad. They may be good, they may be quite well arranged and methodical. I do not say that they are not. But, however good may be the arrangement made by (other) people still, it is not the case that he who wants to have the power to make this arrangement always approves of this. This is the principle of *swarajya*. If you got the powers to select your Collector, it cannot be said with certainty that he would do any more work than the present Collector. Perhaps he may not do. He may even do it badly. I admit this. But the difference between these and those is this : this one is selected by us, he is our man, he sees how (lit. in what direction) we may remain pleased ; while the other thinks thus : 'what we think to be good must appear so to others. What (is there with respect to which) we should listen to others? I am so much educated, I get so much pay, I possess so much ability, why should I do anything which would be harmful to others? The only answer is 'because (you) have such conceit.' (Laughter). There is one way, there is no rule about it. He whose belly is pinched has no experience about it. This is the only



cause of it, there is no other cause. Hence if you minutely consider the various complaints which have arisen in our country (it will appear that) the system which is subsisting now is not wanted by us. Not that we do not want the King, nor that we do not want the English Government, nor that we do not want the Emperor. We want a particular sort of change in the system according to which this administration is carried on, and I for one do not think that if that change were made there would arise any danger to the English rule (lit. kingdom). But there is reason (lit. room) to think that some people whose spectacles are different from ours may see it, because they say so (cheers). Hence the minds of many people are now directed to the question as to what change should be effected in the system according to which the rule of the English Government is exercised in the above manner. We make minor demands, *viz.*, remove the (liquor) shop in a certain village named Ghodegaon, they would say it should not be removed. Done. (If it is said) reduce the salt tax, they say, we look to the amount of revenue derived from salt duty. If this tax is reduced, how should it be managed there? But he who has to make the arrangement has to do these things. When I ask for the authority to manage my household affairs, I do not say, give me the income which you obtain, and do not spend (it). We ourselves have to make the expenditure and we too have to collect money, this is the sort of double (lit. united) responsibility which we want. Then we

shall see what we have to do. Such is the dispute at present. Other bureaucrats who come say, act according to our wishes. We say, act according to our wishes so that all (our) grievances will be removed. We know that sometimes a boy obstinately asks for a cap of Rs. 25 from his father. Had he been in his father's place it is very doubtful whether he would have paid Rs. 25 for the cap or not. The father refuses but he (the boy) is grieved at the time. And why is he grieved at it? Because he does not understand (the thing); because the management is not in his hands. Hence the introduction of such an administration is beneficial to India. We want this thing to-day. When this one thing is got the remaining things come into our possession of themselves. This is the one root of the thousands of things which we are asking for. When we get this key into our hands we can open not only one but 5 or 10 doors at once. Such is the present question. It is in order that the attention of all may be directed to this question that this Home Rule League was established here the other day. Some will be grieved at it; I do not deny it. Every one is grieved. It was said here some time back that when a boy is a minor, the father when dying appoints a *panch*. The *panch* when appointed supervises the whole of the estate. Some benefit is also derived from this (arrangement). This is not denied. Afterwards when this boy begins to become a little grown up, he sees that there is something wrong in this. I must acquire the right of management, then.



I shall carry on better management than this. He is confident of this. Not that he actually carries on the management in that manner. Perhaps, if he be a *prodigal*, he may squander away his father's money. But he thinks as above. In order to avoid any opposition between these two, the law lays down the limitation that (on the boy's) completing 21 years (of his age), the trustee should cease his supervision and give it into the boy's possession. This thing which belongs to practical life applies also to the nation. When the people in the nation become educated and begin to know how they should manage their affairs, it is quite natural for them that they themselves should manage the affairs which are managed for them by others. But the amusing thing in this history or politics is that the above law about 21 years has no existence in politics. Though we may perhaps somehow imagine a law enjoining that when you have educated a nation for a hundred years you should give its administration into its hands, it is not possible to enforce it. The people themselves must get this effected. They have a right (to do so). Hence there must be some such arrangement here. Formerly there was some such arrangement to a little extent. Such an arrangement does not exist now. And herein lies the root of all these our demands, the grievances which we have, the wants which we feel (and) the inconveniences which we notice in the administration. And the remedy which is proposed after making inquiries about that root in the above manner is called Home Rule. Its name is

*swarajya*. To put it briefly, the demand that the management of our (affairs) should be in our hands is the demand for *swarajya*. Many people (lit. even many people) have at present objections to this. I merely gave the definition in order to make (the subject) clear. The people on the other side always misrepresent it. If there be no mistake in the logical reasoning of what I have now said, how will any mistake arise unless some part of it is misrepresented? Hence, those people who want to point out a mistake misrepresent some sentences out of this and find fault with it, saying this is such a thing, this is such a thing. Hence, it is not the duty of a wise man to impute those things to us which we never demand at all to censure us and in a manner ridicule us before the people. What more shall I say than this? (Cheers) Hence, if any one of you has such a misconception let him give it up. At least remember that what I tell is highly consistent. It is in accordance with logical science. It agrees with history. I said that king means invisible king or government. This constitutes no offence whatever. There are deities between. At several times God does not get angry ; these deities get angry without reason. Some settlement is to be made with respect to them. Hence if there has arisen any such misconception it should be removed. I have told this for this purpose. Now I tell the nature of it to you. And even before that let us also consider a little the question whether we are fit for (carrying on) such sort of administration or not. Some time ago I gave you the



instance of *panch* and their ward. There generally it happens that as the boy grows up more and more, those who think that the management should not pass into other hands make reports that his head has now begun to turn; another says that he is not mad, but that he appears to be half mad. The reason of this is that the management should remain in his hands for a couple of years more. A third says: 'True, you may give authority into his hands, but do you know that he has got bad habits? These (people) tell five or ten things about him. What is to be gained by doing this much? Then the dispute goes before the Court and then they get him adjudged mad. Some things like these have now begun to happen here. To give authority into people's hands is the best principle of administration. No one disputes this. Because the same thing is going on in the country of those officials who are here. When they go there they have to advocate the same principle. Therefore, no one says that this historical principle is bad. Then what is bad? They distinctly say that the Indians are not to-day fit for *swarajya* (laughter), and some of us are like the rogues in the story of the three rogues occurring in the Panchatantra. That story is as follows: A villager had come taking a sheep on his head. One rogue said to him 'There is a she-goat on your head.' The second said 'There is a dog on your head.' The third one said quite a third thing. He threw away the sheep. The rogues took it away. Our condition is like that. This relates to human nature.

There are among us people who are just like them. Why are we not fit? Because fitness has not been created in us. We have not done (it), our parents have not done it. We too have not got such powers. But the Government has given you some powers in the Council. Sinha (and) Chaubal are in the Council. In the Executive Councils of other places also there are selected people. When these people were selected for appointment, did any one ever say (lit. write) 'We are not fit, do not give us the post'. No one said (cheers). What then is the use of saying (so) after coming to our meeting? I shall consider that these people are speaking the truth if, when the bureaucracy actually confers some great powers on them, they stand up and say: 'We do not want them, we are not fit for them—the Brahmins alone must come and perform *shradha* at our house, we cannot perform it.' I think that those men who say such things because such and such a person would not like (any particular thing) and bring forward such excuses for that purpose, in a manner make an exhibition of their weak nature (cheers.) Why are we not fit? Have we no nose, no eyes, no ears, no intellect? Can we not write? Have we not read books? Can we not ride a horse? Why are we not fit? As a Jew in one of Shakespeare's dramas asked, I ask you what have we not? You have not done work. If it is not given at all, when are we to do it? (Cheers.) Has it ever happened that we did not do work when it was given? No one did then say, we are unfit, do not appoint



us. You appoint them. You get work done by them and afterwards it is also announced in a Government Resolution 'He has done his duty' and so on. On the contrary, going further, it is to be asked, you bring from England quite a new man of 21 years. What can he do? Has he any experience at all? He comes all at once and straightway becomes Assistant Collector, and becomes the superior of a *mamlatdar* though the latter be 60 years old. \* \* \* \* \*

Is 60 years' experience of no value? A man of 21 years comes and begins to teach you. Generally he makes this *mamlatdar* of 60 years stand before him. He does not give (him) even a chair for sitting, and this poor man stands before him with joined hands because he has to get Rs. 150, 200, 400 (cheers). How then is the Saheb to acquire experience, how is he to become fit, and how is the work (lit. cart) to go on? Has any one thought about this? Had it been true that the people of India are not fit for *swarajya* and that they would not be able to keep their kingdom in good order, then Hindus and Muhammedans would never have governed kingdoms in this country in ancient times. Formerly there were our kingdoms in this country. There were administrators. The proof of this is that before the advent of the English Government in this country there was at least some order, there was no disorder everywhere. One man did not kill another. Since there existed such order, how are we to say that the people are not fit (for powers)? At the present time, science

has made progress, knowledge has increased, (and) experience has accumulated in one place. Hence we must have more liberty than before, and we must have become fitter. But, on the contrary, (it is said) we are not fit. Whatever might have been the case in former times, this allegation is utterly false. Better say, (it) is not to be given (cheers). What I say is, do not apply the words 'not fit' (to us). At least we shall know that this is not really to be given. We shall get it. But why do we not get it? It is indirectly said that we are not fit. It is to teach you that we have come here. This is admitted. But how long will you teach us? (Laughter.) For one generation, two generations, or three generations! Is there any end to this? Or must we just like this work under you like slaves till the end? (Cheers.) Set some limit. You came to teach us. When we appoint a teacher at home for a boy we ask him within how many days he would teach him—whether in 10, 20 or 25 years. Within two months, within four months. But if the study which should take six months for the boy to finish would, he were to say contrary to our expectation, take one year, we tell him you are useless, go, we shall appoint another teacher (cheers). Then in this manner, on the people—on all people. These officers have control over the people's education and it is their duty to improve them; this duty remains on one side, they make attempts on the other side. They say that whatever attempts they may make it is impossible for these people to become fit for this work. I think



that to place such excuses before the invisible Government is in a manner an occupation of securing one's own interests. If some one were to draw the conclusion that there must be some self-interest in this, that would not be wrong. Why is it so? (They are) men like you, as wise as you. You take them in service, get work done by them ; it is not that you exercise less strictness. What is going on in the Khalsa territory? There is no obstruction in the management. Is it obstructed in Mysore? Who are doing the work? The King of Mysore is a Hindu, the minister is a Hindu, the subjects are Hindus, the lower officers are Hindus. (They) carry on the administration of such a large kingdom as Mysore, but it is said that the people of the two districts beyond Mysore cannot carry it on in that manner. (Laughter, cheers.) There are six districts in the Mysore territory, hence it is like saying that six are fit and eight are not fit. There is fitness in us beyond any doubt (cheers). You may, then, for some reason admit it or not. Well. What authority is there for thinking that we possess fitness? I pointed to a Native State. I tell another thing. Keep yourself aloof for ten years and see whether it can be done or not (cheers, laughter.) If it cannot be done take (us) under your control after ten years (cheers). You are free (to do so). This thing, too, is not to be done. Hence the only object in saying that the Indians are not fit to carry on the administration is that they are always to be kept in slavery, that they are

to be made to do work by labouring like slaves, and that the ways whereby their intellect and their ability may be developed are to be stopped (cheers, 'shame'). There is no *swarajya*. There is no *swarajya*. What does it mean? What do we ask for? Do we say 'Drive away the English Government'? But I ask what (is it) to the Emperor? Does the Emperor lose anything whether the administration is carried on by a Civil Servant or by our Belvi Saheb? (Cheers.) The rule still remains. The Emperor still remains. The difference would be that the white servant who was with him would be replaced by a black servant (cheers). From whom then does this opposition come? This opposition comes from those people who are in power. It does not come from the Emperor. From the Emperor's point of view there is neither anarchy nor want of loyalty, nor sedition in this. What does *rajadropa* (sedition) mean? Hatred of the king. Does king mean a Police sepoy? (Laughter.) I said some-time back that this distinction must first be made. Otherwise, (lit. then) if to-morrow you say 'remove the Police sepoy,' would it constitute sedition? Such is the belief of Police sepoys (laughter). In the same manner go up a little, and you will see that the demand made by us is right, proper, just and conformable to human nature. The same has been done by other nations. It has not been done only in our country. *Swarajya*, *swarajya*—what does it mean? Not that you do not want the English rule. There is a mistake at the root. Some



one has some object in it. This argument is brought forward by men whose interest lies in deceiving you. Do not care about it at all.

If you think that you are men like other men, when they go to England their intellect and they are put to the test there. Therein we stand higher. What else then comes out? Your intellect may be good, but you do not possess character, courage and other qualities (and) their nature. I admit for a *ghatka* (24 minutes) the absence of nature. But it does not follow that it will not be acquired. (Laughter.) How can their nature at all become such, whose life is spent in service and in service alone? If it be said, he worked as a clerk for 25 years, wrote on the cover (*sic*) the Saheb's orders, obtained the Saheb's signature thereon, and then he acquired the habit after 25 (40) years ; still, he will at first find it difficult to do work; this is not denied. But when the system under which such men are has disappeared, it cannot be said that men would not become fit in the next generation. Hence, in my opinion, we are fit for *swarajya*. I shall now briefly tell you what we wish to obtain and what we should demand, and conclude my speech.

You know of what sort the Indian administration is. But the thing to be told is that it is carried on in accordance with a particular law. Its rules are fixed. What are the powers of the Secretary of State? What are the powers of the Governor-General? There are three great

parts of the system. The Secretary of State is in England. The Governor-General is at Dehli in India. Under him there is a Governor for a Presidency. For the present let us omit those under him. But the main system is of the above three sorts. If we now begin to consider each, who appoints the Secretary of State? Not we. This arrangement was made according to the policy of the Company's Government. When there was the East India Company's rule in this country, all matters were carried on on a commercial principle. The whole attention was directed towards (the question) how might the Company's share-holders obtain a considerable profit? The Company's Directors were in the place of the present Secretary of State. You might say that this was a contract given for governing the entire kingdom. Under the Peishwas' rule *mamlatdars'* offices were given under a contract. This Indian administration was, as it were, according to the then law of Government, a trade carried on by the East India Company. They were to derive from it as much profit as possible. The Company's Directors were to be in England. Their attention was directed to the fact that profit was to be given to the Directors, *i. e.*, share-holders. A letter used to come to the Governor-General here to this effect:—'So much profit must be paid to us this year. Realise it and send it to us.' This was the administration. The people's good was not (considered) in it. (It was like) the milkman and his cows. If the cows do not give milk, he says bring (the pot) after filling it by pouring water in it.



The administration of India was carried on like that. Subsequently it appeared after discussion that this administration was not of a good sort. And when Queen Victoria—you may say, the Parliament—took the administration in their hands, they did not approve of this trading system. They took it into their hands—this was one part. This system of administration has been formed in accordance with the commercial policy which was in existence when the administration was assumed (by the Parliament) and under which the Directors were in England and their servants were here. The State Secretary has come in the place of the Directors. The Governor-General (has) come in the place of their Governor. Thus, what was done? The Sovereign, the Parliament took the administration into their hands, but the establishment of employees which then existed has remained just as before. This happened in 1858 after the mutiny. From that time to this the administration of India has been carried on in accordance with rules and arrangement formed according to the Company's policy. If it was really to go to the King, as there was the Sovereign, this nature of the Company should have disappeared. He is the King and we are his subjects. It is his duty to rule for the good of the subjects. And an arrangement should be made in accordance with the rules—lawful—that may be included in that duty. But this arrangements was made thus—the Directors went, the Secretary of State came in his place. Who is to decide how much money is to be

spent in India and what taxes are to be imposed? The State Secretary. Such powers are not placed in the Governor-General's hands. He is the chief officer. The Governors are under him. He is a servant. There are other servants under him. And the entire administration must be carried on with the consent of, in consultation with and with the advice of, this State Secretary. Such is the present policy. What happened then? Gradually. This is but a commercial policy. Though the administration went into the hands of the Queen's Government, and though they issued a great proclamation, the Sovereign's policy is not on the lines of that proclamation. The Sovereign's policy is in accordance with the trading Company's policy, the administration of the kingdom is in accordance with the Company's policy. And in the meantime the proclamation has no effect. (Laughter, cheers.) Such was the arrangement. At that time our people did not know (it). I think that had the spread of education been then as great as it is now, the people would have contended that since the Queen had taken the reins of Government into her own hands, the administration of the kingdom should, as regards the Sovereign and the subjects, be for the good of the subjects. Our people would then have told that the arrangement made by the Company was simply for its own benefit, and that a change must be made in that policy—in that arrangement. The people continued to make these contentions for many years. To put



the matter very briefly, Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji (cheers) who is one of those living persons who saw this arrangement and pointed out its defects, began this work. What beginning did he make? He said: "What is the difference between the Company's (system) and this (system)? We do not (see) any in it. The rules are all made in accordance with the Company's policy. Are the people likely to derive any benefit from them?" Then arose these Legislative Councils. They were such that the Governor-General was to appoint us. Originally (the members) were not to be elected (lit. appointed) by the people. Gradually your men became members (lit. officers) of the Municipality and of the Legislative Council. Still the final keys are in their own hands. Discussion may be held in the Legislative Council. You have full liberty to hold a discussion. You may hold a discussion about spending the money in this country. We shall decide whether it should be (so) spent or not. Subject your mouth and mind to as much exertion as possible, we have no objection to it. Be awake throughout the night, prepare your speeches. Instead of printing them in a newspaper, we shall publish them in the *Bombay Government Gazette*. This is the only difference. Nothing is got from this. The hope of getting is held out. There is a *shlok* (stanza) in the Mahabharat which says hope should be made dependant upon time.' Rights are to be given to you when you become fit. We do not wish to remain in India. When you become fit, we shall give the bundle into

your possession and go to England by the English steamer 'cheers). Such a time limit should be laid down. We shall give in two years. We shall give in ten years. Such a time came afterwards. 'Time should be coupled with obstacles.' Ten years were mentioned. These days passed and were very wearisome. We are obliged to make them fifteen. 'Hope and time should be coupled with an obstacle.' An obstacle came. You yourselves must have brought it. We did not bring it. We were awaiting good time. An excuse should be coupled with it. The excuse came. How did it even come it is an excuse, nothing can be said about it. Some quite different cause should be shown. This is a sort of policy. When you do not mean to give, how do you speak? It is not the case that this is written in the modern works on morality and politics. Only the old tradition has continued. Thus this bureaucracy has been cajoling us. For the last five or fifty years the State Secretary and the Governor-General too have been cajoling us in this manner—have kept us afloat. As soon as you proceed to make some noise, (it is said) there were five members, to-morrow we shall make them six. What is the benefit to us of raising the number from five to six? One of our men is only to be made to pass time there for nothing for a few days (cheers). There is no more advantage than this. (If) you object to six (they say) we make them eight. We raise our ten to twelve, if necessary (Laughter and cheers). The people are already convinced that



this matter cannot be disposed of in this manner. Whatever rights you may have to give, give them to us absolutely, however great your own powers may be. If the management of the Educational Department alone be considered (it will be found that) most of the subordinate servants are from among us only. There is a Saheb at the head. Why is he kept there? With a view to restrain their mouths and the scope of their intellect. Even if twenty years service be put in, the work will not be done without the Saheb, that poor man begins to say so. Such men are to be prepared. This is the inward object, though it may not be open, of the present (system of) administration. Two distinctions are to be seen in these. When a gardener is asked by some one to prepare a garden here beyond this (place) he looks for (flower) pots. When big forests are to be prepared under the Forest Department pots are not required. Bags of seed are bought and emptied. Trees grow everywhere to any extent. Some (of them) grow small, some big. This present arrangement is like that. Owing to this arrangement the trees amongst us do not grow. Nay, care is taken that the trees planted in pots look pretty (and) their flowers can be plucked by the hand. He is educated in such a way that such pretty trees may grow. In such a manner is he treated and made to work. And then after 25 or 30 years are past he begins to say 'I am really not fit for this work.' We do not want this system. We want the English Government. We want to remain in

under the shelter (lit, umbrella) of this rule. But we do not want the State Secretary who has been created as a son-in-law (cheers). At least we want our men, (men) elected by us, in his Council. This is the first reform that must be made. Similarly it must be decided according to our opinion who is to expend India's (revenues), how much money he is to collect (and) how many taxes he is to impose (cheers). We say, there must not be those taxes. They will say how will the expenditure be met? That we will see afterwards. We know so much that expenditure is to be made according to the money (we) we may have and (lit. or) that money has to be raised according to the expenditure undergone. We understand this. We will afterwards see what arrangement (should be made.) The second principle of Home Rule is that these powers should be in the people's hands, in the hands of good men, *viz.*, in the hands of men elected by the people. At present such a (great) war is going on in Europe. The Emperor does not decide how much money has to be spent on the war. Mr. Asquith decides it. If there is a complaint against the work done by Mr. Asquith, it goes before Parliament, and if Mr. Asquith, has committed a mistake, he has to tender his resignation. Will it be sedition, if he has to tender his resignation? There is difference in the arrangement, there is difference in the organisation, there is difference in the system. And we are asking for such a change in the system. The rule will fall, the rule will go away—these thoughts are



utterly foreign to us, they do not come within our limits, our reach, our view. And we do not also wish it. I again say, if the nation is to get happiness, if the thousands of complaints that have arisen to-day are to be removed, then first of all, change this system of administration. There is a saying in Marathi 'Owing to what did the horse become restive? Owing to what did the betel-leaves rot? Owing to what did the bread get burnt.' There is one answer to it, Owing to not turning. The leaves ought to have been turned, the bread ought to have been turned. Had the horse been turned, it would not have become restive.' The root of it is that complaints about forests, complaints about *abkari* complaints about *kulkarni vatans*—(these have arisen) because authority is not in our hands. To state it in slightly changed words—because (we have) not *swarajya* (cheers). That we should have *swarajya* for us is at the root of it. Then (we) need not dance according to the wish of any one. This may happen even in *swarajya*, I do not deny it. When we have deficiency of money and powers are placed in your hands, you will increase the tax; you will increase (it) altogether voluntarily. Whence is the expenditure to be met? But as it will be increased voluntarily, it will not oppress our minds. Learned aliens may tell us when we are passing like this through this door, that we should not pass through this door but through that; but if any one comes and stands there and (begins to) tell us not to go through it then we have to go out by

giving him a push. The very same is the case with *swarajya*. This is the obstruction of the bureaucracy. We do not want such obstruction. The demand for *swarajya* is such that it has nothing to do with sedition. It has nothing to do also with the invisible Government. This domestic arrangement should be managed by you yourselves and by doing so what will happen is that in the first place your minds will remain in peace. Whatever you have to do you will do with the thought that you are doing it for your good. Nay you will also reduce the expenditure. I do not think that in any Native State a Collector gets a pay of Rs. 2,500. If there is any place the word in which a man doing the work of a Collector gets the highest pay, it is India (cheers). To give Rs. 2,500 as pay to a Collector would under the former rule, have been like giving an annual *jahagir* (to him) of about Rs. 30,000. Have we ever given in our *swarajya* such a *jahagir* of Rs. 30,000? Rupees 30,000 is not a small amount. There are reasons for it. What reason is given? Bear it in mind that there is some reason or another for everything. This (man) has to send Rs. 2,500 to England for his children, etc. For your welfare (they) come from a cold climate to a hot climate (and) get their health spoilt. Must not then pay be given to them? They have laboured so much, made such self-sacrifice, (and) suffered so many hardships, and you would not pay them money? When this is once told it appears to be right at first sight. But now the principal ques-



tion is, who told them to come here from there? (Cheers.) We did not call (them). You do such work as you may be fit to do. We do (lit. may) possess as much fitness as you have, but we shall be able to do the work on less pay. Men can be had. Then why (give) so much pay to him? We do not need it. We think that we do not get to-day money for education. The excuse of 'no funds' which is brought forward in connection with the execution of works of public utility will first disappear. The business will go on unobstructed just as at present. In the beginning it will not go on so unobstructed. Perhaps it may be less by an anna in the rupee. Still the good impression (lit. fine thing) that will be produced by (the thought) that the (business) has been carried on by the people, is of greater value. In this manner good management is to be asked for in this (administration). Amendment is to be brought about in the present law; it is to be brought about through Parliament. We will not ask for it from others. We have not to get this demand complied with by petitioning France. The Allies may be there, we have not to petition them. The petition is to be made to the English people, to the English Parliament. This state (of things) is to be placed before them. We have to do whatever may be required for this. If you carry on such an effort now for 5 or 25 years, you will never fail to obtain its fruit. Moreover, such a time has now arrived on account of the war that is now going

on that some such effort must be made as will increase the value of India, India's bravery, India's courage, and India's stability. If the fact that they themselves are making this effort comes to the notice of Government then there is hope of our demand soon proving fruitful. I have, therefore, purposely brought this subject before you. The subject is being discussed elsewhere also. The League which we have established for this purpose is such that I myself or some one else will have occasion to place the subject (before the people) at every place, if not to-day some days afterwards, for carrying on this work. Let this subject be always discussed by you, always think about it get its usefulness explained, and carefully consider how much of loyalty (and) how much of disloyalty is in it. This is what I tell you on the present occasion. Though what I have to say may be much more than this, still I have told you its substance in a brief manner. If the consideration of this be begun among you, be begun in Maharashtra, be begun in India, then some day or other this work will succeed; and even if this matter lies in God's hands, still it is necessary. I admit that it does not lie in our hands. But the effect of action (lit. *karma*) cannot fail to take place in this world. The effect of action may not be obtained so soon as I say, may not be obtained before my eyes, perhaps I may not be benefited by it. But this action must have its fruit (cheers). According to the law of action, when a certain action is done, another results from it, (and) a third one results



out of that. Such succession goes on. Time will be required, there will be delay. But do we ask at all that we should have *moksha* before our eyes? Again do we ask for it with the thought that we should have it at the hands of a certain person? Only just now a Resolution was passed in our Conference (that) the parties of Moderates and Nationalists are not wanted. That is to say, it is the same to us to whomsoever *swarajya* is given. There is no objection even (if powers) be given to your sepoy to-morrow. You may say, how will the sepoy exercise such a great power? The sepoy is to die some day or other and then we will see (cheers). We want rights. We want a certain sort of arrangement giving happiness. We will get it. Our children will get it. Make the effort that is to be made. Be ready to do this work with the thought that it belongs to you. I am sure that by the grace of God your next generation will not fail to obtain the fruit of this work, though it may not be obtained in your lifetime (cheers).

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**Swarajya.**

*Speech delivered on 31st May 1916 at Ahmed-nagar.*

GENTLEMEN, before saying a few words to you it is my first duty to thank you very much. It is my first duty to thank you for the honour you have done to me by calling me here (Ahmednagar) and for the address you have presented to me. Whatever the motive with which you have conferred the honour upon me, the few words which I have now to tell you, relate to my work. Perhaps this may appear strange (lit. contrary) to you. You have called me here, and (if) I make a statement about my own work before you, that would be a sort of impropriety. Should you think that Mr. Tilak came here and told people his own things, (I say) I do not hesitate at all to tell them at this place, since the things which I have to tell you are of as great an advantage to you as they are to me. Till now controversies and discussions about the state of our country have taken place in various ways and at various places. What is beneficial to the people in general? Many things are beneficial. Religion, which relates to the other world, is beneficial. Similarly, morality too is beneficial. Provision for one's maintenance is beneficial. Our trade should expand, the population should increase, there should be plenty and that plenty should safely fall into our hands—all these things are desired by men. But it is not possible to discuss all



these things in the short time allowed to me. I will, therefore, say a few words before you about such of the above things as are important and are considered important by thousands of people (and) about a subject which is now discussed on all sides. This subject is *swarajya* (cheers). Those things which relate to our homes we do authoritatively in our homes. If I desire to do such and such a thing, if it be merely a private one, I have not to ask any one about it, nor to take any body's permission nor is it necessary to consult any one else. That is not the case in public matters. As is our own good, just so is the good of all people. If we consider how people would begin to live well and how they would attain a condition of progressive improvement we shall see that, whatever things we take (for consideration), we are handicapped in consequence of there being no authority in our hands. If a railway is to be constructed from one place to another, that is not under our control. As for trade, I might talk much about giving encouragement to such and such an industry, but it is not wholly in our power to acquire knowledge of that industry at the place where it is carried on, to lessen the trade of those people in this country and increase our own trade. Whatever thing we may take it is the same with it. We cannot stop (the sale of) liquor. There are also some things which are not wanted by us or by our Government but the course of the general administration is such that it is not in our power to make any change—the slightest change—in it. We have till now made

many complaints and Government have heard them ; but what is the root of all the complaints? What things come in the way of improving our condition as we desire (and) what is our difficulty—this has been considered for about fifty years past, and many wise people have, after considering this thing, discovered one cause of this, which is that our people have no authority in their hands. In public matters, different (lit. many) people have different opinions. Some say 'Do you not possess authority? Do not drink liquor, and (all) is done'. The advice is good (lit. sweet) indeed, but stopping all the people (from drinking liquor) cannot be done by mere advice. This requires some authority. He who has not got that authority in his hands cannot do that work. And if it had been possible to do the work by mere advice, then we would not have wanted a king. Government (administration) has come into existence for giving effect to the things desired by a large number of people. And as that Government is not in our hands, if anything is desired by thousands of you but not by those who control the administration, that thing can never be accomplished. I had come here on a former occasion. What about the famine administration (of that time)? When (lit. on which day) Government came to know that the weavers sustained great loss during famine, some steps were taken about it. We have lost our trade. The business of commission agency used to be carried on formerly; it is not that commission agency (business) did not exist before, nor that it does



not exist now. The business of the agents is carried on at present. The difference is that while at that time you were the commission agents of our trade, you have (now) become the commission agents of the business men of England. You buy cotton here and send it to England and when the cloth made from it in England arrives, you buy it on commission and sell it to us. The business of commission agency has remained, but what has happened in it is that the profit which this country derived from it, is lost (to us) and goes to the English. The thing (is) that the men and the business are the same (as before) but owing to a change in the ruling power, we cannot do some things. Such has become (the condition) that such things as would be beneficial to the country cannot be carried out. At first, we thought that since the English Government was as a matter of fact alien, (and) there was no sedition in calling them so, there would be no sedition whatever nor any (other) offence in calling (alien) those things which are alien. What is the result of alienness? The difference between aliens and us is that the aliens' point of view is alien, their thoughts are alien, and their general conduct is such that their minds are not inclined to particularly benefit those people to whom they are aliens. The Muhammedan kings who ruled here at Ahmadnagar (I do not call Muhammedans aliens) came to and lived in this country and at least desired that local industries should thrive. The religion may be different. The children of him who wishes to

live in India, (also) wish to live in India. Let them remain. Those are not aliens who desire to do good to those children, to that man, and other inhabitants of India. By alien I do not mean alien in religion. He who does what is beneficial to the people of this country, be he a Muhammedan or an Englishman, is not alien. 'Alienness' has to do with interests. Alienness is certainly not concerned with white and black skin. Alienness is not concerned with religion. Alienness is not concerned with trade and profession. I do not consider him an alien who wishes to make an arrangement whereby that country in which he has to live, his children have to live, and his future generations have to live, may see good days and be benefited. He may not perhaps go with me to the same temple to pray to God, perhaps there may be no intermarriage and inter-dining between him and me. All these are minor questions. But if a man is exerting himself for the good of India, and takes measures in that direction. I do not consider him an alien. The Government is alien. At first I thought that there was nothing particular in this. The Peishwa's rule passed away, and the Muhammedan rule passed away, (the country) came into the possession of the English, but the king's duty is to do all those things whereby the nation may become eminent, be benefited, rise, and become the equal of other nations. That king who does this duty is not alien. He is to be considered alien, who does not do this duty, but looks only to his own benefit, to the benefit of his own race,



and to the benefit of his original country. If anybody has charged this Government with being alien, he has done so in the above sense. How then is this sentiment (of alienness) to disappear? At first hundreds of questions arose. Agricultural assessment then increased, the Forest Department was organised in a particular manner, the Abkari Department was organised in a particular manner—about all these things we have been constantly complaining to Government for the past 20 or 25 years. (But) no arrangements about the different departments, the different professions, the different trades and the different industries were made (accordingly). This is the chief question of the past fifty years. While looking out for a cause of this, we at first believed that when we informed this Government of it, it would at once proceed to do as we desired. The Government is alien. It does not know (the facts). When five or ten of our prominent men assembling together tell Government, the latter will understand it. It being alien, it cannot understand it. As soon as the Government is informed of this, it is so generous minded and wise that it will listen to what you have to say and redress (the grievances). Such was our belief. But the policy (lit. conduct) of Government during the last fifty years has been the cause of the removal of this belief. However much you may clamour, however much you may agitate, whatever the number of grounds you may show, its sight is so affected as not to see the figures drawn from its own reports and

set before it. The same arguments and the same grounds do not meet with its approval. If we say anything to it, it sticks only to what may be adverse to our statement. Perhaps some one may come and tell you that there is nothing to wonder at in this. Whether the Muhammedans or the Hindus or the Peishwas or the Emperors of Nagar may have been (lit. may be) your rulers, those kingdoms have been broken up and now the rule of the English has been established. Of course those people do just what is beneficial to them. Why then do you complain about them? This is sure to happen. Such is the opinion of several people. This your outcry only becomes the cause of giving pain to Government and in a manner disturbing its mind. For this reason do not raise this outcry and accept quietly what it may give. Accept gladly what little (lit. quarter of bread) it may give and thank it. Such is the opinion of several people. I do not approve of this opinion. My opinion is that whatever be the Government, whether British or any other, it has, as Government, a sort of duty to perform. Government has a sort of religious duty to perform; a sort of responsibility lies on its shoulders. I say that when a Government evades this responsibility it is no Government at all. Government possesses authority. All the power possessed by Government, be it acquired by it by fighting or be it conferred (upon it) by the people. Still Government has a duty (to perform). As we have a duty, so those who are called Government have also a duty. They must do



certain things. The Government has already admitted certain duties. Does not Government do such works as constructing roads, establishing post offices and telegraphs? It does. If to-morrow some one were to say: 'If Government does not construct roads, it is its pleasure. It may construct them if it likes, but not if it does not like, then all of you who are assembled here will find fault with him saying: 'If these things are not to be done (by Government), why do we pay taxes? If the Government will not utilise for the people's convenience the taxes levied from us, it has no authority to take any taxes whatever from us, Government take these for our benefit.' When any persons argue before you that the Government is good, what do they show? The question is always asked. This our Government has constructed roads, made railways, established telegraphs and post offices—are not these conveniences made for you? Why do you then raise an outcry against Government? I do not say that these things have not been done, but that those that have been done are not sufficient. These things have been done, done well (and) have been done better by the British Government than they would have been done by the former Governments—this is an honour to them. But should we not tell (it to do) those things which it does not do? But that is not a real Government which considered itself insulted when told of those things which have not been done and a desire to do which is not apparent even now, which does not direct its attention to them

though told in many ways, and which thinks that we should not tell those things to it. What then is meant by a real Government? This must be considered a little. There is a vast difference between the present system and the old system. At present an effort is being made to create a sort of erroneous conception. Neither the Collector nor the civilians arriving (here), who are called the bureaucracy in English, are Government. A Police sepoy is not Government. It does not constitute any sedition whatever to say, 'Do something if it can be done while maintaining the British rule which is over our country, without harm being done to that rule and without weakening' it. We want the rule of the English which is over us. But we do not want these intervening middlemen (lit. keepers of granaries) (cheers). The grain belongs to the master, the provisions belong to the master. But remove the intervening middleman's aching belly, and confer those powers upon the people so that they may duly look to their domestic affairs. We ask for *swarajya* of this kind. This *swarajya* does not mean that the English Government should be removed, the Emperor's rule should be removed and the rule of some one of our (Native) States (should be established in its place). The meaning of *swarajya* is that explained by Mr. Khaparde at Belgaum, *vis.*, we want to remove the priest of the deity. The deities are to be retained. These priests are not wanted. We say appoint other priests from amongst us. These intervening Collectors,



Commissioners and other people are not wanted. Who at present exercises rule over you? The Emperor does not come and exercise it. He is in England. If some facts were communicated to him, it is his wish that good should be done to you? Why then is not good done to you? Hence we do not want these priests? (cheers). Those people are clever. You say that no priest is wanted. They will say, 'We have passed examinations: We do many things.' All these things are true. But their attention is directed *new and* more to the remuneration belonging to the priest. Hence this priestly office should remain in our hands. The position of the Badwas of Pandharpur and these (people) is the same (cheers). Will there be any loss to the Emperor if the said priestly office does not remain in the hands of the bureaucracy who are endeavouring to retain it? There will be none. Some will say that the English people belong to the Emperor's race. But after we have become the Emperor's subjects he does not make any distinction between the English subjects and the black subjects. He does not wish to make it. The meaning of the word *Swarajya* is Municipal Local Self-Government. But that is a farce. It is not sufficient. When an order comes from the Collector, you have to obey it. He (Collector) has power to meddle. He has power to call the President and tell him to do such and such a thing. If the President does not do it, (the Collector) has power to remove him. Then where is the *Swarajya*? (cheers). The meaning of

*swarajya* (as stated) above is retention of our Emperor and the rule of the English people and the full possession by the people of the authority to manage the remaining affairs. This is the definition of *swarajya*. What we ask for is not that the authority of the English should be lessened, nor that the English Government should go away and the German Government should come in its place. On the contrary, the present war has proved and the whole world has seen that it is not our wish that the German Government should come here. Nay, in order that the rule of this Government should remain here permanently, thousands of our people are to-day sacrificing their lives in the most distant and cold climes (hear, hear, cheers). What is left then? If in order that this rule may remain and that this rule should not go away and the rule of the German people should not come in its place, we pay money—be it according to our means—though we are not as wealthy as the English. According to our ability, our fighting men are going (there) and sacrificing their lives and in this way exerting themselves. France, Germany and (lit. or) other nations are commending and applauding them (cheers, hear, hear). By shedding our blood we have proved our desire that our loyalty to the English Government should be of this kind (hear, hear and cheers). I do not think that any man can adduce stronger evidence than this in his favour. Thus to-day it is an undoubted fact that we want here the rule of the English alone and accordingly we are exerting ourselves. If such is the state of things,



why should not these intervening people who have been appointed be removed and why should we not get the rights possessed by the people in other places within the British Empire? We are not inferior to them in point of bravery and education, we possess ability. Such being the case, why should we not get the rights? Why should the Emperor make a distinction between his black and white subjects? Who has given such advice to the Emperor? The peculiar feature of the British constitution (lit. rule) is that the Emperor acts on the advice of the people. Why should the ministers give him such advice? At present those who possess power, *i. e.*, the bureaucracy are white. When a black man goes among them he too becomes like them. Under the present system, if a native on his arrival from England after passing examination be appointed to be a Collector, he after going among them becomes just like them. Do not think that I am speaking only about the whites. We do not want this system. What does it matter if a man or two goes among them? He cannot do anything in particular. Therefore, this system must be done away with. We would not be satisfied by the appointment of one or two persons. Let that be. Who introduced the system? The Emperor did not introduce it. The Queen's proclamation as promulgated is of one sort (lit. on one side) and the present system is of another sort (lit. on one side). At present it is not at all left in our hands to bring about our own good. Were we to think that encouragement should be given

to *swadeshi* goods by imposing duty on certain imported foreign goods that is not in our hands. Were we to think of starting such and such industries required in the country (or) of importing paid teachers from foreign countries, that thing is not in our hands. What a small thing this is. It is necessary that all people should know reading and writing. Whether a man be a Muhammedan or of any (other) religion or of any caste, he ought to know a little of reading and writing. This thing is now acknowledged by all people throughout the world. There is now no doubt about this. By knowing reading and writing a man derives at least some benefit. No one requires to be told of this anew. Then why is not that thing done here? Because there is no money. Who gives this excuse? This excuse is given by the bureaucracy. Their pay is Rs. 2,500 and if it is to be raised to Rs. 3,000, then there is money. The same was the case with exchange compensation. When the price of the rupees or (silver) fell, six crores of rupees were brought out by Government on account of exchange. At that time money was found. Unless you have authority in your hands these things which are taking place cannot be got over. There is no money for education, but (lit. and) there is money to pay a salary of Rs. 2,500 to the Collector. ~~.....~~ ~~.....~~ ~~.....~~ Moreover the present bureaucracy does not consider that thing from the point of view from which we would consider it if authority were to come into our hands. At first we were told that money should be spent on education, When people



begin to know how to read and write, the number of offences committed falls by thousands, they carry on their dealings well, they understand what is of advantage and what is of disadvantage to them. When people become (fit) in this manner an officer of Rs. 2,500 will not be necessary to govern them. One of Rs. 500 will do, and we shall be able to spend Rs. 2,000 on education. In no (other) country are there so highly paid officers at present. The Viceroy who comes to govern India gets Rs. 20,000 a month, while the Prime Minister of England gets Rs. 5,000. He who remaining in England manages the affairs of the whole Empire gets Rs. 5,000 while he who carries on the administration of India here gets Rs. 20,000. Why so? There is no answer to this. This (is so) because this thing is managed at the cost of others (lit. direct) (cheers). This in India. Go and eat. If any shop belonging to (other) people is made over to you for management, you will pay the employee a salary of Rs. 100 if he belongs to your community or caste, while you would pay him a pay of Rs. 50 in your own shop. In this way the present arrangement is being carried on. We are not at all benefited by this arrangement. Thus it is not the case that these things have come to our notice for the first time. It is fifty years since the things came to our notice. When the National Congress was held at Calcutta in 1906, Mr. Dadabhoi Nouroji (cheers) stated this distinctly. He gave it as his fifty years' experience that for counteracting this present

irregularity and the sort of injustice that is taking place in India, there is no other remedy than that the power should pass into the people's hands. He called it Self-Government. And in the hands of the people. We must decide upon the arrangement as regards what is to be done in our homes, what is to be done in our villages, what is to be done in our country and what is to be done in our Presidency. If we decide about this, it will be done at a small cost, it will be done well, and our decision as regards in what matter we should expend more money, and in what matter less, will be more beneficial to the people. The bureaucracy says that we do not possess knowledge, (as if) they alone possess it. Their first lookout is to see how their pay will be secured. When money comes into the treasury the expense on account of their pay must be first defrayed. Their military expenditure must be first defrayed. They must be first fully provided for. If money remains after this, it is to be applied to education. They do not say that education is not wanted. Education is not a bad thing in their eye. But the people are to be educated and their (other) conveniences are, if possible, to be looked to after all (the above) expenditure is defrayed. This is to be thought of afterwards. We shall first consider whether (you could) manage things or not if power were to come into your hands. If you think that more pay has to be paid to these people, than reduce it and tell them that they will have to do the work for



the country. When all these things will be considered in this manner, we shall have in our hands the opportunity of bringing about those things which it is desirable to bring about. This is mere speculation (lit. consideration). Where is your difficulty? There is a common saying in Marathi: A certain man asked three questions. Why (lit. where) does the horse become restive, why did betel-leaves rot—the story occurs in the third book: it was there formerly, I do not know whether it is there now.—He gave a single answer to two or three such questions, which is, 'owing to not turning.' Similarly. (why) is (not) the consumption of liquor reduced in our Presidency, why are the people subjected to *sulum* in forests, why is money not available for education?—All these (questions) have one answer, and it is this: 'Because you have no power in your hands' (cheers). And as long as this power will not come into your hands, so long there will also be no dawn of your good fortune. Whoever may be the Emperor, we speak not anything about him. But we must do those things which relate to business, trade, religion and society. Unless the power of doing those things comes partially into our hands—in the end it must come fully—unless it comes fully into our hands, it is impossible for us to see a time of plenty, the dawn of good fortune, advantage or prosperity. Water cannot be drunk with others' mouths. We ourselves have to drink it. Similar is the present arrangement (that of drinking with others' mouths). We ourselves must draw our water—the water

of our well—and drink it. If that well belongs to Government, a tax of a rupee per month may, if necessary, be paid. But we want power. There are no means of salvation for us unless we have it in our possession. This principle of politics is almost settled—proved—from the point of view of history, morality and social science. Now (lit. then) you may ask why it was not told to you for so many days. I have to say a few words about this. That power should come into our hands or the time of its coming into our hands is approaching (lit. beginning to be seen). Up till now the generality of people in England thought of deriving as much profit from India as possible (and that) India was a sort of burden to them. The people in England used to think that the thirty crores of people in India would overthrow their rule some time or other, (that) they should be disarmed (and that) they must be kept in slavery and under control as much as possible. But that condition is now changed. Owing to the war which is now going on in Europe, it has begun to be thought that unless all the many parts of the British Empire unite together, that Empire would not attain as much strength as it should. It has so happened now that a consciousness has been awakened in them that they stand in need of aid from other countries called Colonies belonging to them—Australia, Canada, (and) New Zealand, which are inhabited by Sahebs. If you take advantage of this awakened consciousness, you too have this opportunity of acquiring some rights. No one tells you to



obtain these rights by the use of the sword. But to-day the nation's mind has undergone a change. India can give some help to England. If India be happy England too will acquire a sort of glory, a sort of strength and a sort of greatness. This consciousness has been awakened in England. If no advantage is taken of this awakened consciousness at this time, such an opportunity will not occur again. The bureaucracy considers this to be bad. Who will be the loser in this to be bad. Who will be the loser in this? Not the Emperor, but the bureaucracy. They, therefore, consider this thing to be bad and they are now telling (lit. advising) us that we are not fit for *swarajya*, and that, therefore, they have come here. As if there was no *swarajya* anywhere in India when they were not here! We all were barbarians and ready to cut each other's throats. There was no system of administration under the Peishwa's regime. There was no system of administration under Mahammedan regime. We were not able to carry on State administration, we were not able to construct roads. We did not know how the people might be happy. Nana Pharnavis was a fool, Malik Amber was a fool, Akbar and Aurangzeb were fools. Therefore these people have come here for your good and you are still children (laughter). Let us admit for a moment also that you are children. When are you now to become grown up? In law when one attains his 21st year one is considered to be grown up. Though these (people) have ruled over us for fifty years we have not been able to become grown

up. What then did they do for fifty years? If the people of India were children whose duty was it to educate (lit. make wise) them? It was their duty. They were the rulers. I go so far as to say that they have not done this duty—hence not only are we children, but they are unfit to rule (cheers). This alone is good that those people who could not improve (the condition of) their subjects during fifty years should give up their power and make it over to others. If there be a manager of your shop and if he performed the duty of *munim* for fifty years, but there was only loss continuously for fifty years, what would you tell him? Sir, give up your place and go away. We shall look to our own management. Another may be of a lower grade. Though he may be less clever, he will at least know that in managing a shop there should at least be no loss. This at least he must know. What (those) people tell us, *vis*, that we have not become fit, proceeds from selfishness. If what they say be true, it is in a way disgraceful to them. They are being proved to be unfit. And if it be false, they are selfish. We can draw no other conclusion from this than the above. What is meant by we are unfit? What is the matter with us? Our Municipal management is tolerated; if some one comes from England after passing examination and becomes a Collector that is tolerated. They discharge (their) duties and Government commends them. But when the rights of *swarajya* are to be given to the people, to tell all people, crores of



people, plainly that they are unfit (lit. to give a certificate of unfitness) is to make an exhibition of one's own unfitness (cheers). Besides this objections of many other sorts are taken against *swarajya*. In the first place, I have already said that they unhesitatingly (lit. at once) decide that the whole nation is unfit. If we say ('hold an examination,') no examination too is held. 'Unfit, unfit'—what does it mean? Set your men to work and set our men also to work. See whether they do or do not work properly. No opportunity to work is given and (yet we) are called unfit. Are even those, who have been given an opportunity, found unfit? There are members in the Legislative Council, are they unfit? Have they ever called themselves unfit? Have you ever called them (unfit?) No. What does then 'unfit' mean? You do not mean to give. In order to say there is not buttermilk, is deceit necessary? To-day being Sunday, there is no buttermilk.—such is the shuffling that is going on now. I want to ask you whether you without allowing that shuffling are prepared or not to make a resolute demand. If you are not prepared to ask, if you do not make urgent solicitation about this,—if you throw away the present opportunity—such an opportunity will not come again for 100 years. Therefore, you must be prepared. I know that if after being prepared we spoke a little forcibly, some Police sepoy may say 'O you': (this) is not unlikely. But it must be put up with. There is no help for it. We have no power in our hands. We cannot say to

the Police sepoy, 'you are a fool, go back.' He obeys the Police Inspector's order. But I can tell you that if you, people of all castes and religions, become united and at this time make this demand of Government resolutely and unitedly, press (it) earnestly, be prepared to bear any expense that may be necessary for this (and) proclaim not only to Government but to the whole world that unless your demand be granted you would not be satisfied nor remain contented,—if you possess so much resoluteness. I am sure that by the grace of God you will not fail to have the demand granted to you pretty soon. (This) will be (lit. is) the fruit of your resoluteness. Whether in religion or in politics, resoluteness is required and that resoluteness of mind does not come without courage. It will not do to say, 'How will it be?' Whether good or evil may result, we want this very thing. We will ask for this very thing. For this we will collect money and undergo any expenditure or exertions that may be necessary, and we will not stop this agitation till this our demand is satisfied. If this work is not completed within our lifetime, our children also will keep up this same agitation. When there is such devotion for this work, only then fruit will be (lit. is) obtained. Without devotion, no fruit is obtained from God, from King, in this world (or) in the next world. If you do not possess this devotion no fruit will be obtained though strenuous exertions be made in this manner. First, devotion is required. (Both) rich and poor must possess devotion. The poor



must help in their own way, the rich must help in their own way. Those who possess intelligence must help by means of intelligence. Every man must bear this thing constantly in mind. If you do not bear this (lit. such) thing constantly in mind, if you do not prepare yourself to make exertions, then it will be sheer folly to blame others for the failure. Perhaps the word folly may have been disliked (by you). I uttered it in the heat (of speaking). But my firm belief is that we have not yet begun to make efforts as strenuously, as earnestly and as devotedly, as we should have. If a Saheb were to ask (lit. tell) whether there would be confusion or not if powers were given to us, we say yes, yes. We have no men! The men are not prepared! And then we laugh at the Saheb in our house, we must laugh there (cheers, laughter). It will not do to laugh in our house. The reply must be given just to his face. We must be prepared to maintain the things which we consider to be true and tell them to the people to the officers, and even to the Emperor. On the day on which you will be ready (to do this)—particularly in these days after the war is over—the administration shall have to be changed in some respects at least. If the administration be like the present, England cannot grant any authority among European nations. At present England is the most powerful of all. The English Government is the most powerful, but to keep it so, change must necessarily be made in the present administration. As a matter of fact they say, 'make

that change', India does not say that the change should be made. Some defects or others are found therein. I stood up to-day; another will stand to-morrow and say that your good does not lie in this. The arrangement which exists at present is itself good. There is the benign Government. The bureaucracy is wise. Therefore, if you act in accordance with their principles, that would be well. If you wish to remain slaves, do so. No one says, do not. What is the use of giving advice to him hundreds of times who likes slavery? He who is willing to remain in slavery may do so freely. But this is not the condition of citizens. This is not the condition of traders (lit. this condition does not apply to traders). This is not the condition of intelligent people. This is not the condition of people of any religion such as Musulmans, *etc.* It is not the case that it applies only to one class, only to Muhammedan merchants. The thing which I am going to tell is not for Musalmans, for Hindus, nor for traders. It applies to all. There is only one medicine for all people. That medicine is power: take (it) in your possession. When it comes into your possession, if there be any disputes between you and us, we would be able to settle them. After the power has come into our hands, there would be much time to settle them. If there be any difference of opinion in religious beliefs, that too we will remove. We want power for this. We want power to settle disputes. It is not wanted for increasing them. Aliens do not know as much as we do what we have to do for



our country. Their point of view is different. Hence, British Government being maintained at the head, one and the same Emperor will rule over India as he does over the British Empire. But introduce here an arrangement similar to that in other Colonies. There, in those Colonies, they have got in their own hands all the power, the right of ownership, (and) the power to make laws. That does not affect the Emperor. There is no attempt to overthrow the British Government. But this is an attempt to make the British rule more pleasing to the people. Some people will lose their means of maintenance, that is not denied. We do not think that the Emperor has reserved India for those people. The present arrangement has come into existence for some reason. It must go away. The Emperor ought to give powers into the hands of the people and without making any distinction between Indian and British subjects, between the white and the black subjects. As they are the Emperor's subjects, so are we too his subjects. We must become as happy as they. The thing which some wise, learned and thoughtful people have now decided to be the key of all these, is *swarajya*. The time for it has now arrived. I have explained to you the meaning of it. I have told you how its time has come. But though all (things) may exist, your resoluteness is the final thing. The opportunity (lit time) which has come will be lost. Though the arrangement of which I speak be in contemplation, you will not get it.

There must be resoluteness on your part. Fortunately the thing about its acquisition is that an agitation of this kind has now begun. Recently we have established at Belgaum an institution to work for *swarajya*. An institution has been established in Madras. This subject is already before the Congress and it will dispose of it one way or the other. But though the several Provinces make their arrangements and render help to them, at least (you) must show so much courage that if some one—the Collector, Commissioner, *etc.*—were to ask ‘what do you want?’ (he should be told) ‘We want power, there must be power in our hands.’ Government servants should be considered to be people’s servants. Do not think that when in future power comes into your hands, you are not to entertain Europeans as servants. If he can work well, we shall keep him and we shall pay him what we may think proper. But he must be our servant, we are not his servants. If we entertain this desire and make efforts for it, then this thing is capable of accomplishment. For this give the help that may be required. Be prepared to render such assistance as may be required to those who may come to speak to us in connection with this. And when you are thus prepared—people of different places, not only of Bombay, Poona, Nagar, but also of Bengal, Madras, *etc.*—if people of all places be prepared, this thing is feasible. To accomplish it, to accomplish it soon, begin to work for it. Having told this much to you, and expressing a hope that the time for India soon to see some fruit or other



in accordance with the above will arrive, and asking your forgiveness for any mistakes I may have committed in my lecture or for any taunting words that I may have uttered respecting you, I thank you heartily. (Cheers.)

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### **Swarajya.**

*Speech delivered on 1st June at Ahmednagar.*

I had thought that I would probably not have to deliver another lecture after the one delivered here yesterday. On that occasion I have already told as many of the two or four common things about *swarajya* as could be told within an hour. But this subject is such a one that, not only one, but even ten lectures on it will not suffice. Therefore, I am to-day going to speak again about two more things about *swarajya* which were not told yesterday, in such a way that the very same subject would be made more clear, would be better understood and the people's ideas (about it) would be more distinct. My general opinion is that what reforms we want are reforms relating to *swarajya*. You may perhaps know the story (lit, maxim) about the old woman. It is to the following effect: That old woman, after the deity had been propitiated, considered as to what she should ask, and prayed for the following boon: The deity should give me such a boon that I would actually see my grandsons dining in the dishes of gold, that is to say, she should remain alive till that time, that she should have a son, that he should earn wealth, *etc, etc*. In this small boon the whole object is included. Similar is the

case of *swarajya*. If we do not get *swarajya*, there will be no industrial progress, if we do not get *swarajya* there will be no possibility of having any kind of education useful to the nation, either primary or higher. If we do not get *swarajya*, it will not do merely to advance female education or secure industrial reform or social reform. All these are parts of *swarajya*. Power (is wanted) first. Where there is power there is wisdom. Wisdom is not separate from power. If it be, it becomes useless. In no nation this proposition is required to be made particularly clear. But it is required to be explained in a particular manner to our people. The reason of this is that there is no *swarajya* in our country. Some people raise this objection against our party: Why do you not effect social reform? This is said not by us but by those who do not mean to give rights of *swarajya* to us, but wish to transfer the train of our agitation from one track to another. There are many people who have effected social reform among themselves. Social reform is thoroughly introduced in Burma. There is one religion. There the people are prepared for any thing. Their children marry any one they like. (But) that country is wholly immersed in a state of dependence. There is no spirit of nationality in respect of anything there. Then, what is wanted? We are one nation. We have a duty to perform in this world. We must get the rights which belong to man by nature, we want freedom. We must have in our hands the right of carrying on our affairs. If you do



not get these things, no reform would be fruitful for you. That is the root of all reforms. No power, no wisdom. Mere book-learning is useless. If you believe that the people who have come to rule over us are superior to us in intelligence and learning, such is not my own belief. We can show as much learning, as much courage, as much ability as they. Perhaps they may not be apparent now, but they are in us. There are conjunctions in history as well as in astronomy. When the Muhammedan rule was declining, the Marathas had only recently risen. Afterwards, the English having set foot in this India, the whole power has passed into their possession, and their power is the cause of the admiration which we feel for them and the pride—be it true or false—which we feel for their ability. And when even a small portion at least of this power comes into your hands, then your wisdom will be of any use. Many things are now wanted by us. Our industries must be improved. But why was it stopped? Who stopped it? If we begin to look out for the cause of this, (it will appear that) we did not stop this industrial reform, we did not stop this economic reform. In that nation, in which there is a way and there is liberty to rise and to show one's ability, good qualities flourish. Where there is utter slavery and bondage, what qualities will be developed? Nothing will happen except with the pleasure of the master. You will advance only as much as he will allow you. If you possess wisdom, when you assist some great officer and he commends you, then you think

that you possess ability. This is a sort of feeble mindedness—want of spirit—and it has enveloped the whole nation. You say 'I cannot do it.' You never did it, no one gave you a *sanad*; even before it you make an outcry that you cannot do such and such a thing. Saying so they take to some other path. In my opinion it is a great misfortune that, in our Maharashtra at least, some people should bring forward this excuse in the above manner and come in the way of the agitation which is carried on for the acquisition of the rights of *swarajya*. Have we not done these things? Think of this. Maharashtra certainly possesses a quality that can be utilized for the nation. But at the present time we do not get an opportunity of making use of that quality. And our mind does not turn to some other thing, such as female education or this or that thing, (simply) because that opportunity is not given to us (cheers). If any one else sees any danger in this, he may do it, but my mind cannot be convinced, has not been convinced, nor do I think that it will be convinced during the few years that are left (cheers). It is vain to speak of other subjects. At present our people are not endowed with heroism, courage and learning, when our women are educated their generation will become of that sort, but even that is to arise from our own seed (cheers). If any one has such a belief (as the above) that is wrong. I do not say that female education is not wanted, but when they tell us to turn to it, in order to stop this agitation on this side, then we say : this is



a remedy to kill the nation. If you do not possess strength, if you have no pluck to acquire anything, it is quite foolish to take an educated wife and say that the issue begotten of her would be of the above sort and that those our sons would make some exertions in order to discharge the obligation (under which they would be to us) (cheers). You must stand on your own legs. You must bring about these things. And you must first bring about the chief of those things. The experience of those who have made exertions for the past fifty years is that this *swarajya* is the key to all (things). And if this does not come into your hands, then (if you say), 'We shall effect this reform after making exertions (for) minor (reform)'. If you mean to effect (it thus) do so, I have no objection (to it). But that will not be helpful to this (*swarajya*), is not helpful to this course. And I am to speak again to-day on the same subject on which I spoke yesterday in accordance with the same opinion. Yesterday I told (you) what *swarajya* means. By *swarajya* it is not meant that the English should be driven away. It does not matter whoever may be the king. We have nothing to do with the king. When we get our rights, that sufficient. And whoever might be the king over (us), those rights can be obtained. There is a King in England. But have the English people rights or not. The King of England is himself our Emperor. Hence, if, while his kingly position is maintained in England, the English people obtain rights of freedom, then what difficulty, is

there in our obtaining the rights of British citizenship, the same King continuing to be Emperor in India? No difficulty of any sort remains. This dark imputation which is made, *viz.*, that the agitation about Home Rule & *swarajya*—is seditious and in the belief of which as sedition a security of Rs. 2,000 was taken from Mrs. Annie Besant the other day—this imputation, this accusation, does not come from the Emperor, or from the subjects, but from the intervening granary-keepers (cheers). The duty which you have to do is that this administration must be changed. The King need not be changed. Unless the system—the arrangement—according to which the present administration is carried on is changed, every man in India will become more and more effeminate. The duty which we have to perform is that. Such are the institutions of slavery. Some people say, what does it matter if there is slavery? Is it not that (they) at least give to eat? (They) do not (starve) any one to death. Even the beasts and birds get to eat. To get to eat is not the aim of man. To feed the family is not the end of man. 'Even a crow lives long and eats offerings.' A crow maintains himself. They have not to raise crops. They get every day cooked rice to eat. I do not consider it manliness (merely) to maintain oneself (and) fill the belly, to obey the commands of the King after accepting those posts which may be kept open within the limits laid down by him (and) to maintain oneself according to his direction. This nature is common to beasts and men. If there is required the quality of manhood



in man, then (it must be seen) whether there is any scope open for our intellect, our ability, our courage and boldness. Such scope is not open for India. Therefore, if you have any duty (to perform) then the first duty is, take a portion of this authority into your possession. It does not matter if you take a little portion of it, as the President (Mr. N. C. Kelkar, President of the Nagar District Conference) has said briefly, if we do not entertain the hope of being free to act (in matters of) spending our own money, deciding according to our own understanding, according to the consent of five or ten men as to what purpose the tax which we pay is to be applied, then according to the law of nature this kind of hope or thought which is in the minds of men will gradually lessen, and to that extent we shall more and more descend to the level of beasts. *Swarajya*, *swarajya*, what does it mean? And what will be the (effect) of it? Does *swarajya* mean that one Collector is removed and yours has come? If the native Collectors remain and in the end the English Collectors come, we want them. There is no objection to say, remove such and such a man (and) make such and such an arrangement in such and such a place. Perhaps, a white man when paid will be a servant of us too; if he be good we shall also keep him. The question is not at all about individuals. The question is about the nation. The chief question is whether a certain nation is to be treated like beasts or considering the people in the nation to be men, their sentiment, their desire for liberty is to be bent in some (direction) (and)

they are to be brought and placed in the rank of civilized nations. And (if the matter) be considered from such a standpoint, then there is no other way (to accomplish this) than (the acquisition of) *swarajya*, than the possession of authority. When that authority will once come into our hands, then we shall be able to do thousands of things. Such a great attempt was made at Poona (to close) a liquor shop at Ghoda—which may be bringing a revenue of a thousand or two to Government. But it is not under our control to close it. Why is so much correspondence (required) to (decide) that a liquor shop should be started at a certain place or should not be started (there)? I think that the annual profit of the shop may not be equal to (the price of) the paper that may have been used in connection with all this business (laughter, hear hear). This business which goes on in the present system should be put a stop to, this high-handedness should be ended and the authority should come into our hands. By the authority coming into our hands the hereditary qualities which we possess will be heightened. We shall find a way to make a use of those qualities in some way or other. That (is) *Swarajya*. *Swarajya* is nothing else. What if it be to a small extent? It does not trouble you. It does not trouble you as much as it should. (If it be said), one sits at home does some business or other, gets some money, maintains his children,—this much will suffice, wherefore should there now be the movement for *Swarajya*? The only answer to this is the one idea in



respect to the nation, *viz.*, that there is in this world something more than ourselves, that there is one more duty of bringing about the good of a greater number than yourself—this duty you have begun to forget. There was a time when in this country, among the succession (of great men) in the Maharashtra there were able men who were awake to ideals. But owing to fate, this human nature has not remained. If another man begins to do our work, we say, good. When the work is done, that is sufficient. But the discrimination where to say good and where not has left us. The English people carry on our administration, you are sitting quietly. If there be any dirt in the cattleshed they sweep it away, look to sanitation, feed them and water them at the proper time,—but have the cattle put the question that this management should come in their hands? (Laughter.) The difference between the men and cattle is that the Collector of Nagar looks to sanitation, tells what should be done if a disease comes, makes arrangement if a famine comes, takes measures that no calamity may befall you. That is to say, your condition has become like that of a parrot kept in a cage; such a condition is not wanted; the cause of this is not merely that they make thing go, but that owing to that arrangement all the (good) qualities possessed by us are gradually disappearing. In order that those (qualities) may not disappear, we must be at liberty to do what they do; other things (lit. subjects) than those done by them are not to be found out; (we) are not to leave

(alone) what they do and do any other thing we may like. The same (thing) is wanted. We want the same power to be in our hands. There is only one objection to this. But it is very bad that such a condition should arrive. A story was published in the *Kesari*; Rabindranath Tagore has given in his autobiography a poem of this sort about (a parrot) kept in a cage. It narrates in full a conversation between a parrot kept in a cage and a free parrot. The free parrot said to the parrot in the cage: 'There is such fun outside; one can roam so much, go any where one likes, can eat at any time one likes. Have you got such joy?' The parrot kept in the cage replied: 'Sir, what you say is true. But where can this golden perch be obtained after going out?' Our condition has become like that. If *Swarajya* be got, how are we to manage it? No one gives, no one takes. Your anxiety is, if *swarajya* be got, how are we to manage it? We are not fit. If the said parrot went out, how was he to get the cage and the perch to sit on, *etc*? We have reached just the same condition. This condition is not natural. It is artificial. Just as that sentiment arose in that parrot's mind owing to his being confined in a cage for many years, so also the above sentiment arose in our mind owing to the above powers having passed out of our hands. This is not our original natural sentiment—the natural human sentiment. As that is not the parrot's natural sentiment, just so this is not the natural sentiment of our nation. This must be borne in mind at first. We become fit



to do the work that falls to us. We are the descendants of those people who were fit in this manner, and if we be their true descendants, their or the same qualities must become manifest in us when we have that opportunity. And we must make exertions for it with the confidence that they will (become manifest). This is what I say (cheers). If heredity (lit, hereditary effect) has any value, recognise it, otherwise at least give up calling yourselves the grandsons—great-grandsons—of such and such a person. There are now many *sardars* in our country. They say that their grandfathers were *sardars* and that they also have inherited the qualities of their grandfathers' blood. But in order to save the *vatan* acquired by them (the grandfathers), they serve Sahebs in any manner they choose; well, I say, they began (to do) so because they are *sardars*. But why should you or we, who have nothing to obtain, run after them? A sort of shadow has thus been thrown over the nation, and we have to get out of it. This is an eclipse. When the moon is eclipsed, alms are given for its becoming free. You are not prepared to spend even a pie to put an end to the eclipse which has overtaken you, nor are you prepared to move for it. When the moon was eclipsed, the Brahmans of ancient times used at least to make *jap* (repeating passages from Vedas, etc.). Do you make any *jap* at least? Are you making exertions for this? Are you prepared to pay a few (lit. two) pice to any one for this? No, nothing. They only raise this objection. If (powers) be given to the

Hindus, what are the Muhammedans to do? If the rights of *swarajya* be given to the Hindus, the Muhammedans would not get (them). As if (we) cannot afterwards duly consult our Muhammedan brethren and come to a settlement! If powers come into our hands we would exercise *sulum* over the Muhammedans, and if powers pass into their hands they would exercise *sulum* over the Hindus! These (men) come to tell you these things on the people's behalf. Who are they? Why do they tell you these things? To delude you. *delude* This must be considered. These civil servants are far more clever than you. They want to keep power in their hands. This case is like that of (the story) of the three rogues.

When you make a demand in political matters you are told 'You are effeminate.' The Muhammedans are opposed to you. (So will they say.) If the Muhammedans say that they have no objection, (they) point their finger at a third thing. In this manner this roguery is practised. \* \* \* \* I do not say to any of you that you should do unlawful things in order to acquire these rights. There is a lawful way. But that lawful way is such that you must not listen to others at all. You must be prepared to say resolutely that you want what is yours. So long as you do not make a resolution in your mind, as soon as some Police Officer comes (and asks you), 'Well, had you gone to Mr. Tilak's lecture?' (You answer) 'Yes, I went towards the end (of it), sat at a distance, and could not hear the whole.'



(You) cannot deny, as the Police Officer has seen (you). Why is there such a fear in your mind? What is there to fear in saying that you want *swarajya*? It is here that the difficulty arises. When subsequently asked by the people who had attended the lecture, he tells the truth. But if asked by the Police he says: 'I did not hear it well, two or four were telling, what could be done? Well my opinion is not like his.' Such shuffling will not do in this matter. No goddess is propitiated by shuffling. That goddess knows what is in your mind, and of all these knowing goddesses, the goddess of Liberty is most particular on this point (lit. subject). Ask what you want and they will give it. Perhaps they may say 'no' once or twice. How many times will they say 'no'? They must be convinced that there is no shuffling in this matter. They must be convinced that there is no other course, unless effort is made. It is the business of every goddess to frighten you until it appears that there is something in you. If we look into our *yoga* science, (it appears that) a goddess has to be won over. They begin to frighten (us). If there is success, all right. If without yielding to fear, we do our work resolutely, the goddesses of the *yoga* science will become propitiated. This admits of proof, this is the rule. Even in political matters there is no other rule—no other way. We want it, we shall secure it (*swarajya*), and we shall not give up our exertions without getting it,—unless there be such a firm confidence in you this thing would not be obtained at all. This fear will re-

main behind, the Police will remain behind, the C. I. D. Collector will remain behind, in the end that thing will be obtained. You must not be afraid of their blustering and bawling. Nay, (you) must consider that this is a definite consequence of this. There is a saying in English: 'How can light be seen without going through darkness?' To rise in the morning, the sun has to go through darkness. I tell you the belief of the common people, and not a proposition (lit. belief) of science. Without going through darkness, light cannot be obtained. Without getting out of the reach of these blasts of hot air, troubles, and people's blustering and bawling, liberty cannot be obtained. Resolution is wanted. I told you what is *swarajya*. Efforts for it must be begun as much strenuously... By the grace of God the world's condition is at present undergoing a change. To speak in the language of faith, God has become ready to render help. But though God be ready, you are not ready (laughter). God is quiet. Should a gift be sent to you from heaven! Nobody at all sends. Even God does not send. And if He sends, it will also be of no use. For when you are afraid, what already exists may afterwards disappear. If this gift is given, how is it to be used? That is to say, if there be any place of God, you will send it to His house. You will send it if it can be sent by post (laughter). After there is (rise of) such a sentiment, after authority of this sort which forms part of the national rights of which I have told



you comes into your hands, what will take place? What will be the effect upon the nation? This I am going to tell to-day. I have told you what is *swarajya*. My friend, Mr. Kelkar, has already told you that *swarajya* does not mean that our authority is to be established here by driving away the English. Some people will have to be driven away. (*Swarajya*) is not driving away the King and taking his authority into one's hands. It means taking into the hand the subjects' rights. If it be carefully considered, if England derived any benefit by keeping this one nation a slave, it will be seen from the condition of the whole of the world to-day that England will have some day or other to give liberty to the provinces and countries forming parts of the Empire under its control. This thing is to take place some day. It must take place. But if you do not do anything then only it will not take place. After keeping awake the whole night, you fell asleep when the thief came, such will be your condition. The time is coming. Perhaps the nature of the change occurring in the world—in other nations—will by the grace of God prove favourable to you. But (if) the time be favourable, it will be of use if you are awake. Otherwise (once) you sleep, you will sleep on. Owing to this, what will it avail even if we get the rights of *swarajya*. I will briefly give you a picture of what will happen. What happened during the Peishwas' time? We must examine history a little for it. At the time of the Peishwas the administration of Maharashtra was

going on well. Elphinstone was the Saheb who brought about the fall of this rule of the Peishwas, and who became the Commissioner after its fall. That Saheb is witness (to what I say). Though the city of Poona was such a big one, there took place no dacoities (in it) at night. The consumption of liquor was *nil*. It was altogether prohibited. The original system of *jamabandi* which was once settled by Nana Farnavis, was itself copied afterwards. Nay, the science as to how accounts are to be kept took its rise among us under the Peishwas' rule and those very accounts are now kept. We know how to administer provinces. The C. I. D. of Nana Farnavis was so very excellent that information as to what a certain *sardar* spoke to a certain man at the time of dining used to be sent to him (cheers). The following incident is said to have happened at one time. The Bombay Government had sent ammunition to the Resident in a palanquin by way of the Khopoli Ghat. An order was issued from the Poona Daftar that the palanquin which might come on such and such a date should be stopped on the Ghat. It had the information that ammunition was to come in a palanquin. Afterwards the Resident complained. "Why is our palanquin stopped?" Thereupon he received a reply from Nana Farnavis, "You yourself think about it. We have attached the palanquin and will not let it go. The King must needs be informed what has taken place and at what place. We have done it." (So he was) told. The C. I. D. is wanted. Who says no?



of the King has no information (he) will not be able to carry on the administration. We have no complaint against the C. I. D. (Our) complaint is about its method of working. (cheers) (hear). That method is not under our control. He who has to carry on the administration, must have all departments. Police is wanted. C. I. D. is wanted. Revenue (Department) is wanted. Judicial (Department) is wanted. All departments are wanted. Where (then) is the difficulty? There is difficulty in one matter. All (the departments) must be under the control of the people—our control. The difficulty lies only in this. Several people have formed the opinion that the English are the most civilized, we too must civilize ourselves, who does not want civilization? All reforms are wanted. During Nana Farnavis' time letters had to be sent; now the C. I. D. will send a wire. Means have become available. The administration is to be carried on by making use of all these. But the whole of this system of administration existed at the time of the Peishwas' rule. Consider what has taken place now after the break-up of that system. When the Peishwas' rule passed away, Nagar, Satara, Poona, which were in the possession of the Peishwa himself, came into the possession of the English. The lieutenants of the Peishwa at that time were great generals. Gaekwar (lit. Baroda), Holkar and Scindia were the chief among the *jahagirdars* and *sardars* who commanded the army. These three survived, as all of them soon joined the English Government and the Peishwas' rule was over-

thrown. This is the history of 1818. What is the condition of these three to-day? What is the condition of the Baroda Sarkar? What is the condition of Holkar? What is the condition of the Scindia Sarkar? And what is the condition of the territory of the district (s) adjoining Poona? Think about this. These three or four districts having gone into the possession of the English Government the whole of their administration gradually passed into the hands of a bureaucracy. The policy of this bureaucracy is not to listen at all to the people. First Governor, then Commissioner, then Collector, the Collector's subordinate the Assistant Collector, Mamlatdar, Aval Karkun, Fouzdar, Police sepoy—such is the arrangement of the whole of the bureaucracy from first to last. What is to be done for the people is to be done by them. The Government above issues orders in respect of anything which it may think beneficial or harmful to the people, and according to it steps are taken below. At first (this arrangement) was thought very good. The disorder under Bajirav's (rule) was put an end to. They said they were safe now. (They saw the *ghee* but not the rod (laughter).) It began to be seen gradually afterwards. All authority went under the control of this bureaucracy. And the remaining people got education. (They) began to make use of railways. A telegram can be sent if (some one) is to be informed whether I am coming to Nagar or not. Education was received. All these benefits were got. But all this authority went into the hands of the bureaucracy. It had



passed (into their hands) to some extent at the time of the Company. And (it passed wholly into their hands by) the Government of India Act passed in 1858. It is 58 years now since that Act was passed. What has happened during these 58 years? The officials became powerful, and possessed of authority. The people's authority became less. To such an extent that (it was said) we do not want the Kulkarni, we want all servants. Whatever hereditary rights (lit. powers) we may have possessed they too have gone. (This) did not strike (us) when the Inam Commission was appointed. That cannot be helped. They said Vinchurkar was a *jahagir-dar* at that time. He was the master of the army. Some one was an officer of an army of 10,000, while some other was the officer of an army of 15,000. They were told: 'You have to supply an army of 15,000, while you have to be paid 15 lacs of rupees of which you have to spend 14 lacs. Then, take one lac of rupees.' They consented. (The amount) can be enjoyed while sitting at home, then what? This is a great principle. Nobody said at that time: 'We lost our right (lit. authority) to keep an army, to fight for Government;' nobody thought so. (It was thought that) Government was good (as) it gives to eat while we sit at home. What more is required? We have been reduced to such a condition owing to this state of things. In 50 or 60 years all the powers of this province have passed into the possession of the European bureaucracy. You should not understand from this that I call the Euro-

pean bureaucracy bad. They are very much learned. These posts are given to the best students from England. Their abilities are greater. But even if all this be admitted, still (it is a fact that) they have to undergo great wear and tear while working for us (and) the climate of England being cold and that of this country hot, larger pay has to be given to them. Having come for our good, will you say 'no' to them? (laughter). All things are admitted by us. I do not also deny that they may perhaps be working a little more than we. I only say, when we are ready to do the work, when it is our work, why (give it) to others? Nor do (I) say that they do it badly. Our minds have begun to grow weak owing to restriction being placed on our work (and) against our interest. Our enthusiasm has begun to become less. Effeminacy is increasing. Therefore, we do not want this. I do not say that they are not wanted because they are not educated. They are good. They are merchants. Will you not get for your shop some agent more clever than yourself? There may be (such men). But will you give your shop into the hands of such an (lit. that) agent and stand aside, taking such money as he will give? This is indeed a question in business. It is a question in any matter. Such was the management of this Province. What became of Baroda? Look at the history of Baroda. There are such writings in the history of Baroda. And what he could do there by degrees was not done here by degrees. The *gadi* of the Maharaja of Baroda had to be perpetuated. That was (lit. is) a



matter of regular succession. That is a part of history. Formerly Baroda used to be managed or supervised from Poona, and the rest was done by the Kings of Baroda. It might have been done by other Kings. Therefore, if you become ready now by receiving education here (you) go to Baroda and ask for service there. There are men educated in Poona and Bombay, who are District Magistrates, Munsifs, Subhas and Diwans there. There are Naib Diwans (and) High Court Judges. These people are working there. They work (there) without complaint (being heard about them). Then where is the objection to the same being done here? If men from the districts of Poona and Satara go and conduct the administration of Baroda, what objection is there for them to carry on the very same administration in the same way in this our Province? Who has taken objection? The nation being divided into two parts, one part—the Marathi nation—went into the possession of the English on account of some historical reason, and one remained in the possession of (native) chiefs. One part says that the people of this nation are fit to do work. In the other part the authorities say that they are unfit, and we too, saying ditto to them, begin to talk like them. There are two standards, two sides. Then, what is wanted when (one talks of) *swarajya*? Now you will see, where is the objection to make the very same arrangement with regard to Poona (and) Satara as exists in Baroda? The authority of the English Government will remain. It is also over Baroda. The chief

of Baroda is not an independent King. When the Peishwas' rule existed in Poona, the treaty of Bassien was made (in the proportion of) 10 to 6 annas in the rupee. Had the state of Poona remained, they too would have been able to manage it. Satara and Nagar could have been managed by them. The same management exists in the Nizam's territory. *Swarajya* means this much : Give those rights which Native States have and which the Baroda and Scindia Sarkars have, to Poona and Satara after forming them into a State of the Central Division. One difference must, however, be made in this. Now a hereditary chief will not do for us. We shall have to elect our own President. This (is) they only difference. It is an historical puzzle or inconsistency that the Province which was the capital of the Marathas should not be given the arrangement which exists in Native States, while those Provinces which were dependent on that Province should have it. There is no reason for this. Why should we not become like them? I have told you that the Gackwar and Scindia have sent money and armies to Europe for the war. If (these districts) had been in our possession, we too would have done the same. This being has nothing to do with (the question whether) the British Government will go or will remain. But the only difference lies in the continuance or the disappearance of the authority of the bureaucracy, the foreign bureaucracy. This is the difference between the arrangements. There is no difference as to the sovereign authority, which is



at the root. I think Mr. Lawrence had formerly suggested that (in view of) the *swarajya* agitation going on India should be divided into separate Native States, that some experts should be kept there, and only the powers with regard to making treaties with foreign powers and the management of the army and the navy should be kept in their (lit. our) hand so that the English rule may not be in danger. (I) do not say that you should not retain these powers. In the arrangement of *swarajya* these will be the higher questions of Imperial politics. England should freely retain in her hands the questions as to what kind of relations should subsist between India and other nations, whether war should be made for a certain thing or not, and what policy should be followed when relations with foreign nations arise. Those who want *swarajya* do not wish to interfere with these things. What we want is that just as we are to-day managing our own (things) in Native States, we want authority to do the same with regard to ourselves. We shall expend on such and such items the revenue which we get from taxes, we shall spend it on education, if there is less revenue from liquor we shall decide what other taxes should be imposed in lieu thereof and arrange accordingly, we shall manage trade, we shall manage all affairs, you should not interfere in them. The people of India do not go to any other nation. Why do they not? See, if you want to, whether they join France or Germany. If there be still a doubt, one must be able to understand

from the present state of things that if Indians are prepared to have connection with any particular country that nation is England (cheers). We will not be benefited by England going away and Germany coming in her place. We do not want the thing. Even if the matter be viewed from another practical point of view, England is here for 100 years, (while) Germany will be a new comer, and its energy will be fresh and hunger unsatisfied. How will that do? What is, is all right. A new king is not wanted. But give into our possession a portion of the powers by losing which our condition is being reduced to that of orphans. It is not I alone that am saying this. Mr. Lawrence has said so. (He writes that) if hereafter improvement is to be effected in India after war, if Government intends to effect some (new) arrangement with regard to the people (lit. them), then divide India into different parts. The question of language did not enter his head, but we shall add that idea. From one separate State each of Marathi, Telugu and Kanarese Provinces. The question of vernaculars also comes in this (question of) *swarajya*. There is no question which is not defendant upon *swarajya*. Had there been general liberty, there would have been a Gujarati University, a Marathi University, an Agricultural University. But to do that does not lie in our hands. Is the question whether education should be given through vernacular such a big one, that there should arise differences with regard to it? But (our wish) does not prevail here. Do the English educate their people through the



French language? Do Germans (do it) through the English language? Do the Turks impart (education) through the French language. So many examples being before our eyes, why should we write articles, columns upon columns long, upon the subject? Why does that which these people say, not take place now? Because (we) have no authority. You have not got the authority to determine what should be taught to your (lit. our) children. So many of you send (your) children to school, but do not consider what will become of them. In short, there is no question at present which is not dependent on *swarajya*—on authority. Ranade and others have (up till) now made efforts with regard to the Fergusson College and the University. But who is to be prevailed upon? Government! They know what arrangement there was in their country. Why should the same not be here? (For) imparting English education to all, the English language has to be taught for seven or eight years. Eight years is not a small (part) of life. Such (a state of things) exists nowhere (else). This arrangement does not exist in any civilized country. If in spite of this your attention is not drawn towards *swarajya*, then be sure that there is something wrong with your eyes, (cheers). Whatever you have to say, whatever prayer you have to make to Government, let that prayer be for giving authority, and not for anything else. We want those things which are the leading ones under this rule. I have already told you that wherever we go (our path) is ultimately obstructed. The question

of education is an ordinary one. There must be schools in each village. Whence is the money to be brought by us? (We) pay taxes to Government. Do we pay them for nothing? Let us have the system prevalent in England for imparting education. There is money in the treasury; it is utilised, it is paid for other purposes; but it is not expended on those things which are necessary for us. Therefore, what I have told you lastly...India is a big country. Divide it if you want according to languages. Separate the Marathi (speaking) part and the Gujarati (speaking) part. But how are the Hindus and the Englishmen to be taught in them? I am going to speak about this also. In Canada the population consists of Frenchmen and Englishmen. If English statesmen could settle (the question) there, would they not be able to settle how Hindus and Muhammedans should conduct themselves (here)? Thus these are excuses for not giving us these things. This you must believe firmly. If India be divided into different States in this manner. The Province of Bengal is separate. Instead of appointing over it a Chief from this side I say, a European Governor may be appointed for some years. What used to happen before a President elected by the people was secured? A Governor used to go from England to Australia. He was obliged to work in the Council as he was told. Here, it is contrary (to the above). If you want any thing, a resolution is to be brought before the Council, much preparation is to be made, figures are to be collec-



ted, he does not get even a pice. The other (members of the) Council are paid. He has to work for nothing, and at last the resolution is rejected. Though it be passed, Government cannot be forced to give effect to it. It is a childish thing. (I think that he) who does not think it so possesses proportionately less patriotism (cheers). This is like setting (us) to fight, by throwing grains of boiled rice, without giving anything to us, without giving any power to us (lit. without our possessing any power). If any rights will be obtained from this in future, if any power will come into our hands, if (this) be given to us as a step towards the above, then it has a value, otherwise it has no value. What does happen? This is the science of setting good and well-educated men to fight for two or four *ghatkas*. Hence, bear in mind what will result from *swarajya* and what we ask. In (asking for) *swarajya* we ask that in the end there should be such States throughout India, that at first Englishmen coming from England and at last Presidents elected by the people should be appointed in these States, and that a separate Council should be formed for (disposing of) questions relating to the whole nation. Just as there is an arrangement in Europe, America and the United States, and just as there are different small States and there is a Congress to unite them together, so the Government of India should keep in their hands similar powers of the Imperial Council. There are at present seven or eight different Provinces; make them twenty if you like, and make such an arrangement in

respect of those Provinces as will give facilities to the people, meet with their approval and place power in their hands. This itself is what is meant by the demand for *swarajya*. The demand for *swarnjya* does not mean that the Emperor should be removed. Perhaps, for this arrangement you may have to bring English officers in some places. This is admitted. But those officers will be ours, will be of the people, will remain as servants of the people, will not remain as our masters. The intelligence of our people will not alone suffice to bring about the reforms which are to be effected in India. We shall have to bring men from England or America, but those men will be responsible to us. They will not be irresponsible. Hence, from one point of view, it cannot be said at all that this agitation is against Europeans. To whom would they be responsible? To themselves or to us? So long as this responsibility has not come to us, (so long as) their responsibility has not come under our power, it will continue to be just so? Till then, our efforts will be vain, though made in any direction; till then, in whatever other matter we may make any movement, it will be ineffectual, and the desired object will not be accomplished. As long as a nation is not free to bring about its own good, as long as a nation has no power to make an arrangement to bring about a certain thing which it may desire, so long I do not think your belly will be filled if you are fed by others. Now the people know, some people are convinced, that the people's good cannot be affected by what is called



'despotic rule' in English. Hence, my object is to tell you that you should make efforts. If my words fall short of (expressing) it, that is my defect, not a defect in the idea, which is faultless. All these things, their different natures, cannot be placed before you in a single lecture. As regards this idea of States about which I spoke, there are many questions, *viz.*, what arrangements should there be in them? What rights should there be in them? And what amendment should be made in the India Act of 1858 about consolidation? And though I may deliver not only one but four or ten lectures, they would not be sufficient (to deal with those questions). Our principle is one—about this alone I have to speak in (this) lecture. Those of you who are competent, by virtue of intelligence, wealth or in some other manner, to consider these things, will spontaneously know that these things are wanted. Why ask, 'Will this be obtained? Will this be obtained?' To acquire it or not lies in their hands. I do not understand this question at all. You are making so much exertion. (No matter) if it be not obtained. As for making exertions, it is in our hands. We need not consider whether we shall get it or not. Exert yourself. The work which you do will not fail to produce some result or other. Have firm belief in your mind. Have not any men obtained any freedom in the kingdom or not? Had goddesses fallen from above in other nations? I tell you plainly that if you have no courage, (it) will not be obtained. If there be courage, if it be not obtained to-day, it will be

obtained to-morrow. It will be obtained after 10 or 20 years. But you must make efforts for it. The principle of your religion is this. 'You are only to work, you are not ever to look to the fruits.' Why is this said in the Gita? Is it for going to worship, for obtaining a *sher* of rice by reciting Puran? Great religions tell this very thing. The Western history tells this very thing. In spite of this will you ask, 'What will become of us? How shall we fare?' 'As made of a ball of earth, *etc.*' There is a ball of earth. We have it to be called Vishnu. We have it to be called Shiva. And we impart so much importance to it that it is worshipped by the people. Lo! (it is) merely a ball of earth without any movement. When dropped on the ground it falls down with a thud. We can give a form to that ball by some act, exertion (and) ceremony \* \* \* \* \*

\* \* If a form of some sort cannot be given to an earthen ball, it must be said to be your fault. It is possible to give them a form. Do not make haste. Nothing will be gained by it (haste). If you work resolutely, a different form can be given to an earthen ball. This thing is told in the *Shastras*. It is proved. It is proved by experience, proved by evidence, by history. If, in spite of this testimony placed before you, you are not convinced, if you are not satisfied, at least give up talking about the country attaining a flourishing condition afresh. Do not bother our heads. These things are capable of happening—must happen. There must be such faith. That faith brings about



works. Where that faith does not exist? What is to be done then? They do not give anything, they only say they would give—such an opinion is not wanted. I do not say that what may be given should not be taken. Take what is given, ask for more, do not give up your demand. (Laughter). We want so many rupees. You gave one hundred. 'Take one hundred from another'—why should you have such an opinion? If even (some) out of hundred be not offered, what have you now to say against them? (Laughter). We want one thousand. When we get a thousand rupees, we shall be satisfied. If 1/10 of a hundred be given we shall thank (you) (laughter). Not that we shall not thank (you). This is human nature. If my paper falls down, I shall say 'thank you' when you give it to me. This is human feeling. I do not tell (you) to give it up. But the humanness of man lies in securing those aspirations which are included in this feeling. All these other feelings must be treated as servants of that feeling, that exertion, that one goal. When this is done *swarajya* will be obtained. *Swarajya* is not a fruit (so) that it may at once fall into the mouth from the sky. Another man is required to put it into the mouth. This is such a work. And for it this beginning is made. The paper which my friend Tatya Saheb has now given into my hand is of such a sort. The work has been begun a little in India. Mrs. Annie Besant has established a Home Rule League at Madras. Here also we have established one. And in the same manner a Home Rule League will soon be established in Bengal or elsewhere.

If, perhaps, the Congress will take up this question and itself establish a league, the other leagues will be merged into it. The same work is to be done. This work is one and you are to do (it). This is a question of (securing) benefit. We have to obtain *swarajya*. I have told you what sort of *swarajya* is to be obtained. I told you what change it will hereafter produce in the present condition. The House of Lords have begun to have such dreams. Lord Hardinge said that the Civilians will soon have to place in your hands the rights belonging to you. The people belonging to the party opposed to you in this matter have begun to have bad dreams (laughter). While you alone (say), 'We are unfit, we shall not take this. Whence (does) this obstinacy (arise)? (Laughter.) What is the rationale of this? (It is that) they have begun to have such dreams. They think that some or other arrangement of this sort will have to be made. The work you have to do first (is this): You must make agitation in the whole country and convince every man that this alone is our goal. For this we have to work. Nay, we must settle what is it we want, what arrangement should there be—this demand must be settled. We must go to England and convince the people of it. And when this subject will be discussed in Parliament this subject must be placed before it in a proper manner. That 'proper manner' means that a bill to amend the existing India Act must be brought before Parliament. What we have to demand is this: Amend this Act for us. When the



East India Company was abolished and the rule of the Queen's Government came, this Act was amended, *i. e.*, minor amendments were made in it. We want to have it amended in a certain manner. And this is wanted not merely for our good but for the good of the Empire. To make such a demand of them is a part (lit. business) of that work. This work must be done with the help and acquiescence of all. There must be left no difference of opinion about this. The Moderates and the Nationalists have one and the same goal, one and the same demand is to be made and one and the same (thing) is to be obtained. For doing this work which is to be carried on by entertaining this sentiment, a separate institution called the Home Rule League is established. This subject is placed before the Congress. But as the Congress is to assemble once a year, when once an opportunity is gone, (another comes) in the next year. But we have to do this work throughout the year. This is admitted by the Congress. With this object we have established this League. Not very great exertion is required for this. Recognize this goal. We have a right to demand (the fulfilment of) this goal. The demand for money made to-day is only this: Every man should pay one rupee. The admission fee is Rs. 2. But if this is not to be paid, pay at least one rupee. If one *lakh* out of thirty *crores* of people be not found (willing to pay), then at least cease to prate about India. Do not tire our ears. I do not think that more than a year will be required for this agitation to become

successful. The subscription for one year is fixed at Re. 1. It is not necessary to carry on the agitation for 10 or 20 years. Such a time has come. Hence if you are not disposed to make the self-sacrifice of taking one rupee out of your pocket for this agitation then at least do not come to the lecture, so that it may not be necessary to talk so loudly. If you have to do anything it is only this. The people belonging to this institution are prepared to make the remaining arrangement. For this purpose many lectures like this will have to be delivered in various places. People will have to be got together. (The matter) will have to be explained to the people. If the Police come to stop (the proceedings), if it is not (allowed) here, we must go elsewhere and assemble. We must go there before the Police go. We must persist. Do not think that this can be obtained easily and pleasantly. One rupee is nothing. There must be resolution of the mind. If any one comes to ask, you must plainly tell him : The goal we demand is lawful. We have become its members and paid one rupee. We want that thing. You must say this fearlessly. If you have not the courage to say this, that is a different thing. I trust that this thing will be considered good by the whole of India, perhaps by your descendants if not by you. Though you may not have the will, this thing must be done. If not you the people of the next generation will make efforts, but they will call you asses. If you mean to put up with this, then I have no objection. My own



conviction is that it will be obtained. Bear in mind what work you have to do, and what help you have to give. Perhaps there will be trouble from the Police, this is not denied. (If they ask) 'Well, have you become subscribers? Have you become members?' You must say 'Yes, we have become.' Such is the law, nothing else will happen. If a prosecution be instituted, the Pleaders in this (institution) will conduct the (defence) without taking any fee (laughter). If a rupee be paid for this work, that would not be sedition. More than this (*i. e.*, paying Re. 1 and becoming a member) you have not to do. This League undertakes to do the remaining work. (Strange) that the people of Maharashtra should remain quiet at such a time. We want all, whether they be Muhammedans, Hindus (or) Marwaris. Among these there are none who are not wanted; in this there is no distinction of caste or religion. This work is to be done for India. I have already stated on a former occasion at a certain place, that there is a (practice) amongst you traders that they keep one anna (in the rupee) out of profits for cow-protection. Such is your habit. I ask, 'Why should not the traders give to us a pice or half pice in the anna for this (object) also?' India is a great cow, not a small one. That cow has given you birth. You are maintaining yourselves on that cow's industry, on her fruitfulness, (and by) drinking her milk. (You) forget that cow, but (lit. and) on seeing the accounts, one anna, one anna (is seen) debited in (her) name (for cow-protection). For what

is (the anna) taken out? For giving fodder to the cow, for rescuing her from the hands of the butcher. We are dying here to-day without work. But does the idea ever occur (to you) that this is a cow for you? That idea never occurs (to you). This is a work for the protection of religion, (and) for the protection of cows. This is the work of the nation (and) of political progress. This (work) is of religion, of progress. (I ask you) to take into consideration all this and to assist us as much as lies in your power. I have already said we do not ask for more than one rupee per man. He who has the ability should obtain the merit of protecting the cow by paying this one rupee at least once to this institution. This is a great work. If sons of the cow will not care (about) this then you shall have to be called bullocks, as the sons of cows are called (laughter). You shall have to be given that name which is commonly applied to cow's sons. I have told you these things. This institution has been started. Work has commenced. If perils overtake it we are prepared to bear them. They must be borne. It will not do at all to sit idle. All will be able to support themselves. Therefore, assist in this manner this undertaking. Then God will not abandon you: such is my conviction. These things will be achieved by the grace of God. But we must work. There is a very old principle that God helps them who help themselves. This principle occurs in the Rigveda. God becomes incarnate. When? When you take complaints to Him and pray to Him. God does not



become incarnate for nothing. God does not become incarnate for idle people. He becomes incarnate for industrious people. Therefore, begin work. This is not the occasion to tell all the people to-day what sort of amendment is to be effected in the law. It is difficult to discuss every such thing at such a large meeting. Hence put together the few general things which I told you (now) and those which I told yesterday and set about to work. And at last having prayed to God to make your efforts successful I conclude my speech (cheers).

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## THE SHIVAJI FESTIVAL.

*(A speech delivered in Marathi on the occasion of the Shivaji Coronation festival in Poona on the 25th June 1907).*

It is a pity the Government cannot yet understand that the object of festivals like these is not to create disturbances. Its mind is yet enveloped in undeserved suspicion. There are a dozen detectives and reporters at this very meeting. Now where is the need for all this

suspicion and distrust? I am sorry that the District Magistrate himself did not take the trouble to attend. Why not take the golden opportunity to know first hand what the advocates of the Shivaji festival have got really to say on these occasions? I for one, am prepared to say every word that I now say even before His Excellency the Governor. I will say it before God Himself, for what I say I have honestly at heart, I will proclaim it from the housetops if required, I will avow it if a detective come to me and ask for my views. There is no occasion for expressing views by stealth or secrecy; and what need of it? Surely, Indian people are not robbers in their own country. They can certainly proclaim their aspirations and they really ought to. We do not fear a hearing, only we want a full and a fair hearing. I strongly condemn the mean attempt to lay the nets for a stray unguarded word to penalise and victimise the speaker. If Government wants to know the truth let it be prepared to hear the whole truth. Why spend two lacs on maintaining short-hand reporters and detectives, and such other men of the intelligence department? The money would be surely better spent on technical education. If we celebrate the Shivaji festival we do not do it for raising the standard of revolt. The idea will be foolish and absurd, as we all know that we have no arms, no ammunition.

An educated man, and M. A., and an L. L. B. may surely be given credit for knowing that the Military strength of the Government is enormous and that a



single Machine gun showering hundreds of bullets per minute will quite suffice for our largest public meetings. How can a detective find out things which never enter the perception of the educated classes? Those who are thus shadowed may however console themselves with the idea that the great God who sees everything is the people's detective upon kings and Governments, and that this divine detective must sooner or later bring the British Government to justice. The secret of all this mischief lies in the idea that the educated classes are the enemies of the Government. Mr. Morley in fact said it in so many words, and he made much of the fact that every member of the proletariat did not often completely endorse what the educated man had to say,—as if every savage or aborigine, every illiterate man of the masses, should be able to comprehend the depths of the political cunning of our bureaucracy. But what is it in the educated classes that leads Mr. Morely to mistake them for enemies? Is it the 'knowledge' in them that so leads him? Then surely Mr. Morley himself is the enemy of knowledge. We all know that Adam, the original man, suffered because he ate the fruit of the tree of 'Knowledge, and the educated Indians are being treated similarly for the 'knowledge' which is bestowed upon them. Is the Government prepared to be classed with those who are the enemies of knowledge in this creation?

To turn to the Shivaji festival, the knowledge we have, or the knowledge which we want to inculcate

among the people in this connection, relates not to the actual use of the identical measures which Shivaji for instance took, but to a proper appreciation of the spirit in which he resorted to the measures suitable to his time. Festivals like these prove an incentive to the legitimate ambitions of a people with a great historic past. They serve to impart courage, such courage as an appreciation of heroes securing their salvation against odds, can give. They are an antidote to vague despair. They serve like manure to the seeds of enthusiasm and the spirit of nationality. Malice or wickedness is never the keynote, or even the minor note, of those who come together on occasions like these. I wish that every word I say on this point should be faithfully reported, and I will gladly supply omissions if the report were submitted to me for correction. The time is surely not yet for lawlessness, for we have not yet exhausted all the possibilities of what may be claimed as legitimate and lawful action. But the pity of it all is that the Government is engaged in treating even this lawful action as unlawful. Lala Lajpat Rai, for instance, had done nothing that was not lawful and yet the whole official hierarchy conspired and acted like one man to deport him. I cannot imagine a clearer sign that the greatness of the British Government is doomed, and that decay and demoralisation has set in. Mr. Morley is a great "Pandit" a learned man. There is no use denying the fact; but it was a pity that this excellent repository of learning, this great English "Pandit," is no better after all than one of our own



orthodox Pandits of Benares who are strangers to worldly wisdom. It is an irony of fate that the greater the scholarship, the less the statesmanship. Mr. Morley ridicules the educated classes on the ground that they are poor. Has Mr. Morley forgotten the old days when he himself enjoyed no better lot? The educated Indian may aspire to rise to high office, but that is no more culpable in him than for this English Pandit to aspire for a State Secretaryship. His analysis of the factors of the Indian population is very amusing. He claims the Princes and the Notables on his side. Surely it is not a thing to be wondered at when we know that the Indian Princes are mere puppets, whose tenure of life as Princes hangs on the breath of the British Government. The Viceroy proclaimed Ordinance I of 1907 as there were disturbances in Bengal and the Panjab; but the Maharajah of Kolhapore went on better though he had not the least excuse of the kind. Mr. Morley claims the merchant class on his side. This is not true about the whole class and it must be remembered that merchants who are engaged in British trade and who depend on the means of enjoying the luxuries of life on that trade cannot be expected to come forward boldly to speak against Government. And lastly he claimed the lowest and the poorest classes, the illiterate ryots, as being on the side of Government. The Hon'ble Mr. Logan echoed the same sentiment only the other day in the Bombay Legislative Council. But this is moonshine. The pretensions of this official friend of the ryot cannot be

exposed and contradicted to his very face only because the ryot is illiterate and cannot know who presumed to pose as his friend. But surely these false pretensions will be doomed as soon as education is sufficiently extended, and I may perhaps say that it is only for this reason that the Government is so cautious in extending it. The educated classes alone have the knowledge and the courage for agitation and naturally the State Secretary treats them as enemies. But I appeal to you that the educated classes need not feel despair over such a thing. The educated classes are no doubt poor but they have one compensating advantage. They possess knowledge, and knowledge is not poor inasmuch as it possesses unlimited potentiality for wealth of every sort. They may also rely upon gradually bringing to their side those classes on whose support Government now think it may rely. History abounds in cases of kingdoms undone by the discontent of penniless beggars. No one could be more poor than the great Chanakya of mediaeval Indian History, and it is well known how Chanakya, who had no stake in the world but the little knot of his hair, exterminated the whole race of the Nandas in return for the insult that was deliberately given to him. Mr. Morley of all persons should not have scorned the power of educated men because they were poor and had no earthly stake. But when thoughtful men like Mr. Morley betray such evident signs of thoughtlessness, then surely the decline of the British Raj has begun. Mr. Morley has however rendered one



great service. He has disillusioned the over-credulous and optimistic souls among us, and literally proved that the greatest Radical after all is no better than the worst Conservative so far as India is concerned. The Old generation, to which I myself belong, is now nearly "hors de combat." The younger generation certainly does not share in this deluding optimism and that is a hopeful sign for India, and I look forward to their exerting themselves with courage and perseverance. Mr. Paranjpe and another speaker had referred to the theory of social contract of Rousseau, and Mr. Damale had construed the Proclamation of 1858 as a contract. For my part I think that the word "contract" cannot be made applicable to relations existing between unequals, and it is dangerous for us to be deluded into a belief that the Proclamation is anything like a contract. No doubt it was a pledge solemnly given, but in its inception it was an utterance made in only a statesmanly spirit, because it was calculated to make for peace at the time. But the finger of the tactician is discernible in it. It is essentially an English idea that a political agitation is an attempt to enforce the terms of such an agreement. The Eastern idea is different; but it is a mistake to hold that it does not warrant an agitation by the subjects to control the power of the King. The idea is no doubt true that the King is part and parcel of the God-head, and some foolish people have tried to fling it in the face of the Indian people to detract from their demand for popular institutions. But the canons of inter-

pretation of a text are not less important than the text itself, and the real mischief arises from not construing the text in this respect as it should be. The King or Sovereign is no doubt a part and parcel of the God-head, but according to the Vedanta, so is every member of the subject people. For is not every soul a chip from the same block of Brahman? It is absurd to suppose that the Indian law-givers of old regarded a King as absolved from all duties towards his subjects. Why, Manu has distinctly laid down, for instance, that the King who punishes those whom he should not, or does not punish those whom he should, goes to hell.

अदण्ड्यान्दण्डयत्राजा दण्ड्यांश्चापि न दण्डयन् ।

अयशो महदाप्नोति नरकं चाप गच्छति ॥

And the beauty of it is that this penalty is not stipulated for in an agreement or contract, but is imposed by the Rishis, that is to say, those who were absolutely disinterested in worldly affairs and to whom, therefore, the sacred work of legislation fell. The Hindu believes in a multiplicity of "Devatas" or deities, and we all know what happens to the King that becomes undutiful. The King may himself be a sort of deity, but the conflict between him and his subjects begets another deity only superior to him. And if the cause of the people be just, the second deity quietly absorbs the first. It is well-known that both Parashurama and Rama are regarded as direct incarnations of God. But it is on record that when the days of the sixth incarnation were numbered, the flame (of glory and



power, as the Purana graphically describes), came out from the mouth of Parashurama and entered that of Rama. And what was Parashurama but a mere human being when he was deprived of this flame, the ensignia of divinity? The divine element in kingship even according to the oriental ideas is not free from its peculiar limitations, and I challenge any one to point out any text which lays down that the yoke of the tyranny of a ruler, whoever he may be, should be quietly borne. The divine King as soon as he ceases to be just ceases also to be divine. He becomes an "asura" and this depreciated divinity is forthwith replaced by a deity, the divinity in which is not so alloyed. Shivaji did not probably concern himself with the text "Na Vishnuh Prithivipatih" and surely he did not know what Hobbes or Locke thought about the principles of political government much less Rousseau or the Encyclopaedists who were all anxious to replace the old religious theory of kingship by the secular one of contract. He knew his Vedanta all right and also knew how to put that Vedanta to practical use. The Vedanta may indeed be capable of giving colour to foolish theories of Government, but the wise Vedantin knows how to refute those theories even in the terms of Vedanta itself. But then it may be urged, that we shall have to suffer for doing what I want you to do. But then the path of duty is never sprinkled with rose-water nor roses grow on it. It is true that what we seek may seem like a revolution in the sense that it

means a complete change in the " theory " of the Government of India as now put forward by the bureaucracy. It is true that this revolution must be a bloodless revolution, but it would be a folly to suppose that if there is to be no shedding of blood there are also to be no sufferings to be undergone by the people. Why, even these sufferings must be great. But you can win nothing unless you are prepared to suffer. The war between selfishness and reason, if it is conducted only with the weapons of syllogism must result in the victory for the former, and an appeal to the good feelings of the rulers is everywhere discovered to have but narrow limits. Your revolution must be bloodless ; but that does not mean that you may not have to suffer or to go to jail. Your fight is with bureaucracy who will always try to curb and suppress you. But you must remember that consistently with the spirit of laws and the bloodlessness of the revolution, there are a hundred other means by which you may and ought to achieve your object which is to force the hands of the bureaucracy to concede the reforms and privileges demanded by the people. You must realise that you are a great factor in the power with which the administration in India is conducted. You are yourselves the useful lubricants which enable the gigantic machinery to work so smoothly.

Though down-trodden and neglected, you must be conscious of your power of making the administration impossible if you but choose to make it so. It is you who manage the rail-road and the telegraph, it is you



who make settlements and collect revenues, it is in fact you who do every thing for the administration though in a subordinate capacity. You must consider whether you cannot turn your hand to better use for your nation than drudging on in this fashion. Let your places be filled by Europeans on the splendid salary of eight annas a day if possible! You must seriously consider whether your present conduct is self-respectful to yourselves or useful to the nation. You must also consider what humiliation you have to suffer when foreigners openly express their wonder at the three hundred millions of India bearing their present ignominious lot without any effective protest. To say this, is not to violate the spirit of laws of any constitution. Surely it does not violate the sense of God's justice as we understand it. It is but those who oppose the reasonable demands of the Indian people that offend against God's justice.

You must imitate your rulers only in one thing namely, in maintaining an unfailing succession of public workers. If one Lala Lajpat Rai is sent abroad, another ought to be found to take his place as readily as a junior Collector steps into the shoes of a senior. It is vain to hope that your petitions will have the effect of releasing Lala, though it is well-known that the Government do not mean to keep him a prisoner all his life. His deportation is intended not so much to penalise Lala Lajpat Rai as to terrorise those that would follow his example, and if their agitation stopped as soon as one deportation took place, Government will run away with

the idea that terrorism had triumphed. It is no use, in fact it is a wrong course, to declare your loyalty with the L. writ large, on an occasion like the present. Those proclaimers of loyalty may be loyal, but who is not? Government is too shrewd not to know the real sentiments of the people, how far loyal or how far disloyal. And just as they are likely to put down agitation under the deliberate pretence of mistaking it for disloyalty, so also they are shrewd enough to know the real character of the loyalty that is so proclaimed by the placards, by the beat of drums and from the housetops. What you want is courage to declare that there is no disloyalty in agitating for constitutional rights and you will go on demanding them, though threatened that such demands will be treated as signs of disloyalty. What you want is bread for the masses and honourable rights for the masses as well as classes. That is not being disloyal, and I for one do not care that it is likely to be deliberately mistaken for disloyalty. The time has certainly come when you must be prepared to clearly formulate and persistently demand the more important rights and privileges. I say again to the reporters that every word that I am uttering, I am uttering deliberately and that a faithful report of those words will rather help than retard the cause I have at heart. With regard to Mr. Kinckaid's lecture on the Peshwas I have to point out that on the whole he has taken a correct view of that period of the Mahratta history, though I differ from him in one respect. The rule of the



Peshwas came to an end not because they were usurpers of the political power, but because in the very nature of things a single family or dynasty cannot produce an unbroken succession of men possessed of such incomparable valour, ability and statesmanship as the family of Balaji Vishvanath did. There would have been even in England the same collapse of dynastic rule if the British constitution did not afford the useful ballast of the Parliament in which the sovereign power is diffused among so many individuals. We Indians have learnt at our own cost the lesson of the importance of popular and representative Government, and that is exactly the reason why our aspirations seem to be diverted from the patent oriental ideal.

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### Our Present Situation.

*(Substance of a Speech delivered at Allahabad in January 1907).*

The first accusation against the Government is that it has done nothing to help the indigenous industries of this country to live. On the other hand it has helped to kill them by the neglect of industrial education. It is powerless to build up a wall of protective tariff to protect the industries of India. While the principles

of free trade have had unlimited scope, the Government has done nothing to spread industrial education so that Indian industries might be able to compete with European and American industries. It is not even sufficient to encourage industries ; it is obligatory on the State to educate all industries and to preserve them. This obligation is recognised by the Government in England but it has been always neglected by the Government of India. Indian industries have been ruined in consequence. If we wish to preserve and promote them we must establish a protective tariff of our own by the boycott of foreign goods. I accept the declaration of Anglo-Indian papers that the British are here by the right of conquest and they hold India by the might of the sword. A Government holding this position is not likely to yield any part of its power by speeches and petitions. There is no example in the whole range of history of a foreign Government, which has established its right by conquest, giving complete or a large measure of Self-government to the people at its own instance. It is not in human nature to do so. The rulers look to their own interest, not that of the ruled. Philanthropy has no part in politics....It is undeniable that the British Government has given peace to the country and a certain amount of liberty. I do not deny that we have received some benefits. But we naturally aspire to improve our position. A nation must either progress or it must fall back. It cannot stand still. The desire to advance is perfectly natural,



but will Government ever, on its own motion, concede to us all that we desire? The positions of the Government as well as the people are natural. The Government does not want that we should proceed beyond a certain length ; we want to proceed all along the line, and it is not by petitions that our desires can be fulfilled...The clear object of the Government is to maintain a dead level in this country. The encouragement given to backward classes is to bring them up to this level and no higher. The education imparted in Government schools and colleges is intended to qualify the people for a number of subordinate offices in the administration. The Government wants clerks, lawyers, judges, engineers and doctors and the course of instruction stops here. This is why nationalisation of education is necessary. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji himself has declared that our goal is self-government. For some years it may be only a subject of academic discussion, but that is the end we must keep in view. What will the reform or expansion of Legislative councils avail? In place of half a dozen, Honourables we may have a dozen. Their speeches will be published in the Government Gazette, but they will be as powerless as they are now. The bureaucracy has not the slightest intention of giving up any portion of their power and they are too powerful either for Parliament or the Secretary of State for India. The House of Commons passed a resolution that simultaneous examination for the Indian Civil Service should be held in England and

India, but that resolution has remained inoperative because the bureaucracy in India are opposed to it. Even Mr. Morley himself has declared that the Government in India must remain absolute. So far as India is concerned Liberals and Unionists are all alike.....In order that there should be a growing organisation and a public opinion growing in power, it is necessary that the educated classes should work among the masses. The masses understand what the Swadeshi movement means ; they do not understand such abstruse theories as no taxation without representation, 'a larger share in the administration' and so on. They understand that village industries are dying out and any scheme for the protection and revival of these industries will have their support. Above all, we must clearly understand that it is not by waiting upon the pleasure of a bureaucratic Government or by reasoned petitions to Parliament that our salvation will be accomplished. There is a saying that Heaven helps those who help themselves. Is British Government greater than God Almighty that it will help us if we do not help ourselves ?

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## The Political Situation.

*(Speech delivered by Mr. Tilak at Calcutta under the Presidency of Babu Motilal Ghose on 7th June 1906).*

Mr. chairman and gentlemen, I am unable to impress you with my feeling and sentiment. I express my gratefulness on my own behalf and that of my friends for the splendid reception accorded to us. This reception is given not to me personally but as a representative of the Marathi nation. This honour is due to the Marathi nation for the services and sympathy towards the Bengali race in their present crisis. The chairman has said that times have altered and I add that the situation is unique. India is under a foreign rule and Indians welcomed the change at one time. Then many races were the masters and they had no sympathy and hence the change was welcomed and that was the cause why the English succeeded in establishing an empire in India. Men then thought that the change was for their good. The confusion which characterised native rule was in striking contrast with the constitutional laws of the British Government. The people had much hope in the British Government, but they were much disappointed in their anticipations. They hoped that their arts and industries would foster under British rule and they would gain much from their new rulers. But all those hopes had been falsified. The people were now compell-

ed to adopt a new line, namely, to fight against the bureaucracy.

Hundred years ago it was said, and believed by the people, that they were socially inferior to their rulers and as soon as they were socially improved they would obtain liberties and privileges. But subsequent events have shown that this was not based on sound logic. Fifty years ago Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the greatest statesman of India, thought that Government would grant them rights and privileges when they were properly educated, but that hope is gone. Now it might be said that they were not fitted to take part in the administration of the country owing to their defective education. But, I ask, whose fault it is. The Government has been imparting education to the people and hence the fault is not theirs but of the Government. The Government is imparting an education to make the people fit for some subordinate appointments. Professions have been made that one day the people would be given a share in the administration of the country. This is far from the truth. What did Lord Curzon do? He saw that this education was becoming dangerous and he made the Government control more strict. He passed the Universities Act and thus brought all schools under Government control. Education in future would pin the people to service only and they now want to reform it. In Bombay such an attempt was first made in founding the Forgusson College. In 1880 and in 1884 the Government showed willingness to hand over



Government Colleges to the control of the Fergusson College but now that institution has gone partially into the hands of the Government.

Policy of justice and efficiency was the policy under which the people are now being governed. By justice is meant justice not between the rulers and the ruled but that between subjects and subjects ; by efficiency the efficiency of bureaucracy. Assurances had been given which were expressly pronounced impracticable. Even Lord Curzon has declared that the Queen's Proclamation was an impossibility. This was said not by an ordinary Englishman but by a Viceroy. Bureaucracy has developed a policy beyond which they are determined not to go. It is hopeless to expect anything from the rulers. The rulers have developed a system which they are not prepared to alter in spite of the protests of the people.

Protests are of no avail. Mere protest, not backed by self-reliance, will not help the people. Days of protests and prayers have gone. Shivaji heard the protests of the people and the *jijia* tax was repealed. Good wishes between master and servant are impossible. It may be possible between equals. The people must show that they are fit for privileges. They must take such departments as finance in their own hands and the rulers will then be bound to give them to the people. That is the key of success. It is impossible to expect that our petitions will be heard unless backed by firm resolution. Do not expect much from a change in

government. Three P's—pray, please and protest—will not do unless backed by solid force. Look to the examples of Ireland, Japan and Russia and follow their methods. You probably have read the speech delivered by Arthur Griffin and we must consider the way as to how to build a nation on Indian soil.

The rulers have now a definite policy and you are asking them to change it. It is only possible that they will have enlightened despotism in place of pure despotism. It is idle to expect much by educating the British public. You will not be able to convince them by mere words. The present system of administration is unsuited to this country and we must prove it. Mr. Morley has said that he was unable to overthrow the bureaucracy. The whole thing rests with the people. We must make our case not by mere words but we must prove it by actual facts. We must show that the country cannot be governed well by the present method. We must convince the government of this.

But can this be done? We must either proceed onward or give up the cause altogether. Do not rely much upon the sympathy of the rulers. Mr. Morley has given a strange illustration of his sympathy in the partition question. Mr. Morley has said that he has full sympathy with the people but he cannot or will not undo partition. An apt illustration of this sympathy will be found in the laws of the land. Punishment of whipping is provided in the Penal Code and there is



another law which provides that the sufferer will be sent to hospital for treatment. If you want that sort of sympathy Mr. Morley is ready to give it to you. If you forget your grievances by hearing words of sympathy then the cause is gone. You must make a permanent cause of grievance. Store up the grievances till they are removed. Partition grievance will be the edifice for the regeneration of India. Do not give up this partition grievance for the whole of India is at your back. It is a corner stone and I envy the people of Bengal for laying this corner stone.

Shivaji was born at a time when there was darkness and helplessness. I believe that Bengal will produce such a leader at this juncture who will follow the great Maharatta leader not in method but in spirit. This festival shows that Providence has not forsaken us. I hope that God will give us such a leader who would regenerate the country by his self-sacrifice, ardent devotion and disinterested action. We must raise a nation on this soil. Love of nation is one's first duty. Next comes religion and then Government. Our duty to the nation will be the first.

Swadeshi and Swadeshi will be our cry for ever and by this we will grow in spite of the wishes of the rulers. Swadeshi and national education are the two methods.

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## Tenets of the New Party.

(Calcutta, 2nd January 1907.)

Two new words have recently come into existence with regard to our politics, and they are *Moderates* and *Extremists*. These words have a specific relation to time, and they, therefore, will change with time. The Extremists of to-day will be Moderates to-morrow, just as the Moderates of to-day were Extremists yesterday. When the National Congress was first started and Mr. Dadabhai's views, which now go for Moderates, were given to the public, he was styled an Extremist, so that you will see that the term Extremist is an expression of progress. We are Extremists to-day and our sons will call themselves Extremists and us Moderates. Every new party begins as Extremists and ends as Moderates. The sphere of practical politics is not unlimited. We cannot say what will or will not happen 1,000 years hence—perhaps during that long period, the whole of the white race will be swept away in another glacial period. We must, therefore, study the present and work out a programme to meet the present condition.

It is impossible to go into details within the time at my disposal. One thing is granted, *vis.*, that this Government does not suit us. As has been said by an eminent statesman—the Government of one country by another can never be a successful, and therefore, a permanent Government. There is no difference of opinion about this fundamental proposition between the Old



and New schools. One fact is that this alien Government has ruined the country. In the beginning, all of us were taken by surprise. We were almost dazed. We thought that everything that the rulers did was for our good and that this English Government has descended from the clouds to save us from the invasions of Tamerlane and Chengis Khan, and, as they say, not only from foreign invasions but from internecine warfare, or the internal or external invasions, as they call it. We felt happy for a time, but it soon came to light that the peace which was established in this country did this, as Mr. Dadabhai has said in one place—that we were prevented from going at each other's throats so that, a foreigner might go at the throats of us all. Pax Britannica has been established in this country in order that a foreign Government may exploit the country. That this is the effect of this Pax Britannica is being gradually realised in these days. It was an unhappy circumstance that it was not realized sooner. We believed in the benevolent intentions of the Government, but in politics there is no benevolence. Benevolence is used to sugar-coat the declarations of self-interest, and we were in those days deceived by the apparent benevolent intentions under which rampant self-interest was concealed. That was our state then. But soon a change came over us. English education, growing poverty and better familiarity with our rulers, opened our eyes and our leaders, especially, the venerable leader who presided over the recent Congress, was the first to tell

us that the drain of the country was ruining it, and if the drain was to continue, there was some great disaster awaiting us. So terribly convinced was he of this that he went over from here to England and spent 25 years of his life in trying to convince the English people of the injustice that is being done to us. He worked very hard. He had conversations and interviews with Secretaries of State, with Members of Parliament—and with what result?

He has come here at the age of 82 to tell us that he is bitterly disappointed. Mr. Gokhale, I know, is not disappointed. He is a friend of mine and I believe that this is his honest conviction Mr. Gokhale is not disappointed but is ready to wait another 80 years till he is disappointed like Mr. Dadabhai.

He is young, younger than myself, and I can very well see that disappointment cannot come in a single interview, from interviews which have lasted only for a year or so. If Dadabhai is disappointed, what reason is there that Gokhale shall not, after 20 years? It is said there is a revival of Liberalism, but how long will it last? Next year it might be, they are out of power, and are we to wait till there is another revival of Liberalism, and then again if that goes down and a third revival of Liberalism takes place; and after all what can a liberal Government do? I will quote the observation of the father of the Congress, Mr. A. O. Hume. This was made in 1893. Let the Government be Liberal or Conservative, rest sure that they will not yield to you.



willingly anything. The Liberal Government means that the Government or the members of the Government are imbued with Liberal principles because they want to have the administration of their country conducted on those principles. They are Liberals in England, but I have seen Liberals in England come out to India to get into Conservative ways. Many of the Civilian officers in schools and colleges, when they come out are very good Liberals. Coming in contact with Anglo-Indian men or when they marry with Anglo-Indian women, they change their views, and by the time they leave India they are Conservatives. This has been the experience all over. So Liberal or Conservative, the point is, is any one prepared to give you those rights and concessions which intellectually a philosopher may admit to be fit to be conceded or granted to a subject nation in course of time? It is intellectual perception. A philosopher and statesman is not forced to do thing. I laughed when I read the proceedings of the meeting in Calcutta, congratulating people on the appointment of Mr. Morley to the Secretaryship of State for India. Passages were read from Mr. Morley's books. Mr. Morley had said so and so in Mr. Gladstone's Life; Mr. Morley had said this and had said that; he was the editor of a certain paper 30 years ago, and he said so and so. I asked myself if it would not have been better that some of the passages from the *Bhagavat Gita* were so quoted. The persons to whom I refer are gentlemen for whom I have the highest

respect. But what I say is, that they utterly misunderstood the position or absolutely ignored the distinction between a philosopher and a statesman. A statesman is bound to look to the present circumstances and see what particular concessions are absolutely necessary, and what is theoretically true or wrong. He has to take into consideration both the sides. There are the interested Anglo-Indians and the Secretary of State is the head of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy whose mouth piece he is. Do you mean to say that when the whole bureaucracy, the whole body of Anglo-Indians is against you, the Secretary of State will set aside the whole bureaucracy and give you rights? Has he the power? If he does, will he not be told to walk away? So then it comes to this that the whole British electorate must be converted. So you are going to convert all persons who have a right to vote in England, so as to get the majority on your side, and when this is done and when by that majority Liberal party is returned to Parliament and bent upon doing good to India and it appoints a Secretary of State as good as Mr. Morley, then you hope to get something of the old methods. The New Party has realized this position. The whole electorate of Great Britain must be converted by lectures. You cannot touch their pocket or interest, and that man must be a fool indeed who would sacrifice his own interest on hearing a philosophical lecture. He will say it is a very good lecture; but I am not going to sacrifice my interest. I will tell you a story. One of my friends



who had been lecturing in England delivered a lecture on the grievances of India. A man from the audience came and asked him how many of them there were. The lecturer replied 30 Crores. The inquirer replied, 'Then you do not deserve anything.' That is the attitude with which an English workman looks at the question. You now depend on the Labour Party. Labourers have their own grievances, but they won't treat you any better. On the contrary they will treat you worse, because British labourers obtain their livelihood by sending us their goods. This is the real position. This position is gradually recognized. Younger people who have gone to England like Mr. Gokhale are not so disappointed though those who went with him were like Lala Lajpat Rai. I am entering into personalities but I cannot place these facts in an intelligent manner if I do not give the names, although all of them are my friends. This is then the state of things. The New Party perceives that this is futile. To convert the whole electorate of England to your opinion and then to get indirect pressure upon the Members of Parliament, they in their turn to return a Cabinet favourable to India and the whole Parliament, the Liberal party and the Cabinet bringing pressure on the bureaucracy to yield—we say this is hopeless. You can now understand the difference between the Old and the New Parties. Appeals to the bureaucracy are hopeless. On this point both the New and Old parties are agreed. The Old party believes in ap-

pealing to the British nation and we do not. That being our position, it logically follows we must have some other method. There is another alternative. We are not going to sit down quiet. We shall have some other method by which to achieve what we want. We are not disappointed, we are not pessimists. It is the hope of achieving the goal by our own efforts that has brought into existence this New Party.

There is no empire lost by a free grant of concessions by the rulers to the ruled. History does not record any such event. Empires are lost by luxury, being too much bureaucratic, over-confident or from other reasons. But an empire has never come to an end by the rulers conceding power to the ruled.

You got the Queen's Proclamation. But it was obtained without a Congress. They wanted to pacify you, as you had grown too turbulent, and you got that Proclamation without a demand, without Congress and without constitutional agitation. That is a very good and generous declaration indeed. The Queen was very anxious that it should be couched in such terms as would create hopes in you. Now all that anxiety did not proceed from constitutional agitation. It was after 1858 that constitutional agitation began. The result was, the Proclamation remained a dead letter, because you could not get it enforced, the conditions under which it was made having disappeared. A promise was made but you proved too weak to have it enforced. That is the reason why it was not enforced. The



bureaucracy got the upper hand and they established a system of administration in which it made it impossible for the Proclamation to be acted up to. Lord Curzon poohpoohed it. Another lawyer said it was unconstitutional because it was not passed by Parliament. His name was Sir James Stephen. This was at the time of the Ilbert Bill. They want now to explain away that Proclamation. Is Mr. Morley going to fulfil it? The explanation of the Proclamation is not the question. The question is what will compel him to fulfil it. This is the point at issue. I admit that we must ask ; but we must ask with the consciousness that the demand cannot be refused. There is great difference between asking and petitioning. Take the Consent Bill, the Land Tax, the Tenancy Question. Whenever there was a grievance we used to hold meetings, make petitions, representations, and complaints in the Press ; and once the decision of Cæsar was known, everything was silent and we accepted it loyally. Such is the experience of the Government and this is what, I believe, they wrote to Mr. Morley relating to the Partition question. They have probably told Mr. Morley that if he remained quiet for a short time, everything would be right. "The present howl is due to a few agitators, and when sufficient time has elapsed the agitation will subside and Partition will be accepted. We know the people of India better than you do. We have ruled over them and we intend to rule over them, and if our experience is worth any thing we advise you

not to yield to their clamorous agitation. Mr. Morley's counsellors are Anglo-Indians, they placed this before Mr. Morley. He thinks that such consensus of opinion, administrative experience, it is impossible to override. Philosopher or no philosopher, he thinks that the administrative duties require it, and he does it as honestly as any other man in the world. This is then how the matter stands. The New Party wishes to put a stop to this. We have come forward with a scheme which if you accept, shall better enable you to remedy this state of things than the scheme of the Old school. Your industries are ruined utterly, ruined by foreign rule ; your wealth is going out of the country and you are reduced to the lowest level which a human being can occupy. In this state of things, is there any other remedy by which you can help yourself ? The remedy is not petitioning but boycott. We say prepare your forces, organise your power, and then go to work so that they cannot refuse you what you demand. A story in *Mahabharata* tells that Sri Krishna was sent to effect a compromise, but the Pandavas and Kauravas were both organizing their forces to meet the contingency of failure of a compromise. This is politics. Are you prepared in this way to fight if your demand is refused ? If you are, be sure you will not be refused ; but if you are not, nothing can be more certain than that your demand will be refused, and perhaps, for ever. We are not armed, and there is no necessity for arms either. We have a stronger weapon,



a political weapon, in boycott. We have perceived one fact, that the whole of this administration, which is carried on by a handful of Englishmen, is carried on with our assistance. We are all in subordinate service. The whole Government is carried on with our assistance and they try to keep us in ignorance of our power of co-operation between ourselves by which that which is in our own hands at present can be claimed by us and administered by us. The point is to have the entire control in our hands. I want to have the key of my house, and not merely one stranger turned out of it. Self-Government is our goal ; we want a control over our administrative machinery. We don't want to become clerks and remain. At present, we are clerks and willing instruments of our own oppression in the hands of an alien Government, and that Government is ruling over us not by its innate strength but by keeping us in ignorance and blindness to the perception of this fact. Professor Seely shares this view. Every Englishman knows that they are mere handful in this country and it is the business of every one of them to befooled you in believing that you are weak and they are strong. This is politics. We have been deceived by such policy so long. What the New Party wants you to do is to realise the fact that your future rests entirely in your own hands. If you mean to be free, you can be free ; if you do not mean to be free, you will fall and be for ever fallen. So many of you need not like arms ; but if you have not the power of active resistance, have you not

the power of self-denial and self-abstinence in such a way as not to assist this foreign Government to rule over you? This is boycott and this is what is meant when we say, boycott is a political weapon. We shall not give them assistance to collect revenue and keep peace. We shall not assist them in fighting beyond the frontiers or outside India with Indian blood and money. We shall not assist them in carrying on the administration of justice. We shall have our own courts, and when time comes we shall not pay taxes. Can you do that by your united efforts? If you can, you are free from to-morrow. Some gentlemen who spoke this evening referred to half bread as against the whole bread. I say I want the whole bread and that immediately. But if I cannot get the whole, don't think that I have no patience.

I will take the half they give me and then try for the remainder. This is the line of thought and action in which you must train yourself. We have not raised this cry from a mere impulse. It is a reasoned impulse. Try to understand that reason and try to strengthen that impulse by your logical convictions. I do not ask you to blindly follow us. Think over the whole problem for yourselves. If you accept our advice, we feel sure, we can achieve our salvation thereby. This is the advice of the New Party. Perhaps we have not obtained a full recognition of our principles. Old prejudices die very hard. Neither of us wanted to wreck the Congress, so we compromised, and were satisfied



that our principles were recognised, and only to a certain extent. That does not mean that we have accepted the whole situation. We may have a step in advance next year, so that within a few years our principles will be recognised, and recognised to such an extent that the generations who come after us may consider us as Moderates this is the way in which a nation progresses. This is the way national sentiment progresses, and this is the lesson you have to learn from the struggle now going on. This is a lesson of progress, a lesson of helping yourself as much as possible, and if you really perceive the force of it, if you are convinced by these arguments, then and then only is it possible for you to effect your salvation from the alien rule under which you labour at this moment.

There are many other points but it is impossible to exhaust them all in an hour's speech. If you carry any wrong impression come and get your doubts solved. We are prepared to answer every objection, solve every doubt, and prove every statement. We want your co-operation; without your help we cannot do anything single-handed. We beg of you, we appeal to you, to think over the question to see the situation, and realise it, and after realising it to come to our assistance, and by our joint assistance to help in the salvation of the country.

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हनुमान कहते । ऐसा कहन से उसका कुछ बढ़ जाती । साथ बाजार जाने के क-दो साथी भी तैयार हो गए । लंगूर के कंधे पर बैठ गया । तीन किलोमीटर था । बीच में नदी पड़ती थी । नदी में तैरने प्यास लगी । कंधे पर बैठने से पूंछ तक लटक रही । गले की रस्सी

# साइकिल सवार बंदर

## □ ललित शुक्ल

अपनी कमर में बांधे थे । प्यास के मारे व्याकुल हो रहा था । जेब में जोर का झटका दिया । रस्सी टूट लंगूर आजाद हो गया । रघुनाथ की का कोई असर नहीं था । पानी पीता लंगूर नदी के किनारे आम की डाल पर । रघुनाथ को थपड़ दिखाता, मुंह पास जाने पर झपट्टा मारता । निराश रघुनाथ बाजार की ओर चल पड़े । करते ? अब लंगूर पकड़ में आने का नहीं रघुनाथ से दूर-दूर वह चलता । बाजार की दो औरतें आ रही थीं । हनुमान ने एक में दंत चुभे जिन्हा । वह ओर से । लोग दौड़ पड़े । ही मन रघुनाथ दुःखी थे । तो हनुमान हाथ से निकल गया दूसरे कर बदतमीजी कर रहा है । लंगूर को नहीं कहता । वह तो बंदर है ही ।

एक छोटा सा डंडा था जिसे रघुनाथ हमेशा अपने साथ रखते थे । उन्हें विश्वास ही नहीं होता था कि लंगूर पागल हो गया है भला-चंगा था । एक क्षण में क्या उसे मालूम ही न था ।

बाजार पहुंच कर रघुनाथ देखते खरबूजे की दुकान पर काट लट फेंक रहा है । बेचारा दुकानदार कांपता हुआ किनारे खड़ा है । पुचकारने की कोशिश की, मगर उस ध्यान नहीं दिया ।

एक बनिये की दुकान के सामने ग्राहक की साइकिल खड़ी थी । लंगूर साइकिल पर बैठ गया । साइकिल चले कैसे । दो चार बार साइ लंगूर हुमका और उछल कर बिसाती व पर बैठ कर शीशा देखने लगा । हल हुआ था । लड़के डर के मारे पागल पास नहीं फटक रहे थे ।

परसू अपनी दुकान पर बैठा पान बेच रहा था । स्वभाव का नटखट और खिलाड़ी जवान था । बड़े उत्साह में आया । रघुनाथ के हाथ का डंडा छीन लिया । बोला—'अरे ठाकुर आप हनुमान को नहीं पकड़ पाएंगे । लाइए डंडा मैं पकड़ता हूं ।'

लंगूर ने छलांग लगाई । मूक हलवाई की मेज पर बैठ कर मुंह बिचकाने लगा । उसकी लंबी पूंछ नीचे लटक कर जमीन छू रही थी । परसू ने लोगों से कहा—'देखो भाइयो आज मैं हनुमान जी की पूंछ की लंबाई नाप रहा हूं ।' यह कह कर परसू डंडे से लंगूर की पूंछ नापने लगा । हनुमान ने गुस्से में देखा । उसने तेजी से लपक कर परसू के गाल पर एक थपड़ मारा । चारों ओर से हां, हां की आवाजें आईं । परसू के गाल का मांस नोच कर लंगूर नीम की डाल पर विराजमान था । दर्शकों की निगाहें तधर हो गईं ।

परसू बेचारा लहलुहान हो गया था । बाजार में कोई अस्पताल था नहीं । इधर पर परसू को बिठला कर कई लोग अस्पताल चले । अभी तक थाने से कोई बंदूकधारी सिपाही आया नहीं था । रघुनाथ ने अब बाजार में रहना उचित नहीं समझा ।

विस्तार से पता था । गुसलखाना और शी

चनेबान से पहले हो सुबह चार बजे उठकर हुआ तो उसकी तरफ बाहर छोड़ी जमीन थे । चाय का प्याल तक चले आते । निहारते । एक-एक बच्चे की तरह सहल साथ आ खड़ी होत मकान का सुख किराए के उस एक दुबके रहना पड़ता था धुसे रहते हैं । एक न थी ।'

पल्लो राम सुमेरन पुसकराती तो उनका खिंदगी में हम सौज आएका यह मकान लिया । बच्चों की कहानें पहुंचेगा ।

घर के ऐन सामने में उसके फूल झरते और जोड़ लेते वह है । पेड़ भी क्या नीम-नीम तो कितन इस मकान में बनवाए थे । इन

गोखे मुकदमे